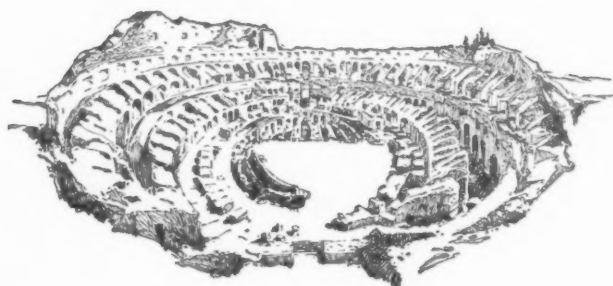


# THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL



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## Immo Homines

Presidential Address, CAMWS, Toronto,  
April 18, 1952

### Humanitarian Slavery

THE ROMAN PHILOSOPHER and statesman Seneca, in one of his most striking and arresting passages, has these words to address to his younger correspondent Lucilius:

I am delighted to hear from those that have been with you that you are living in close friendships with your slaves. This befits your wisdom, and your training as well. Yet "They are slaves," some will say. Yes, but human beings. "They are slaves." Yes, but sharers of your household. "They are slaves." Yes, but humble friends. "They are slaves." Yes, but fellow-slaves, if you but reflect that the caprice of fortune is quite as strong against you as against them. (*Ep. Mor.* 47.1)

*Servi, immo homines*—"slaves, yes, but human beings." Strange words these from a wealthy nobleman in a society built on a structure of slavery. About a century earlier, the humanitarian Cicero had not hesitated in his statesman's handbook (*Off.* 1.41) to repeat the coldly utilitarian formula that may go back to the early Stoic Chrysippus (Cf. *Sen. Ben.* 3.22): "daily toil is to be demanded of slaves, and the usual allowances (of food, clothing, and lodging) are to be made." This latter, in a way, accords with even old Cato's prescription; though he called slaves "beasts of burden" (*Plut. Cat. Mai.* 5), he yet (*De Re Rust.* 5.2) puts it among the duties of the *vilius* to see to it "that the slave household suffer no ill, be not cold, be not hungry."

It is to the utter credit of Seneca that he stressed so emphatically the human quality of the slave, and that his humanitarianism is

seen not once only but several times. In his remarkable address to the young prince Nero (*Clem.* 1.18), for example, he says in part: "though all excesses are allowed against a slave, yet there is that which the common law of humanity forbids us to allow against a human being" (Cf. also *Ira* 3.35; *Ben.* 3.18; and Walter C. Summers, *Select Letters of Seneca* [London 1921] 210.). Surely in declarations like these Seneca has evinced a clarity and loftiness of thought most gratifying from one who was the product of a long and ingrown tradition of confusion in mind and callousness in heart towards the unfortunate creatures who constituted a large segment of the population in both Grecian and Roman societies.

### Dignity of the Individual

BUT IT IS NOT so much the humanitarianism of Seneca in reference to the slaves in his contemporary Roman society to which I would call attention, as the element of human excellence and human individuality implied in his remarks. Every one even slightly familiar with the classical tradition has risen to the majestic sweep of Sophocles' great chorus on "Man" in the *Antigone*, opening with the words, "Many wonders there be, but naught more wondrous than man," and including the verses:

Speech and the wind-swift speed of counsel and civic wit,  
He hath learnt for himself all these; and the arrowy rain to fly

And the nipping airs that freeze, 'neath the open winter sky.  
He hath provision for all: fell plague he hath learnt to endure;  
Safe whate'er may befall: yet for death he hath found no cure.

(354-364, Starr tr., Loeb Cl. Lib.)

It remained only for the English Shakespeare to match this great tribute, when he has Hamlet, in the familiar passage, exclaim:

What a piece of work is man! how noble in reason!  
how infinite in faculty! in form and moving how express  
and admirable! in action how like an angel! in apprehension  
how like a god! the beauty of the world! the paragon  
of animals! (2.2.314-8)

If, however, it be thought that the classical concept was of man in the mass, of human nature rather than of this or that man as an individual, we must be quick to note how widespread attention to the individual in ancient Greece and Rome is. The deep springs of action in the *Iliad* itself well from the individual passions of an Achilles and an Agamemnon; and hostile criticism has at times assailed the verisimilitude of Homeric battles, with the charge that they are described in terms of man to man encounters between a Trojan noble and a Greek. Werner Jaeger (*Paideia: the Ideals of Greek Culture*) finds the first literary expression of individualism in the development of Ionian and Aeolian poetry, saying:

There, for the first, time, poets spoke in their own persons, and expressed their own opinions and emotions, while the life of their community was relegated to the background of their thought. Even when they mentioned politics—as often—their theme was . . . a frank partisanship, as in Alcaeus, or the individual's pride in his rights, as in Archilochus. (Highest tr., 113)

Nor, Jaeger believes, was the spirit of individualism absent in the great days of Athenian supremacy, when the city of the violet crown wielded imperial powers.

As the city-state tightened the chains of law on its citizens, they strove more and more to complement its political rigidity by liberty in their own private life. The libertarian ideal is that expressed by Pericles in the funeral speech, when he describes the free Athenian ideal as the counterpart to Spartan severity. (125 f.)

Thus, in the very days of Athens' highest

political estate, when the need to hold firm rein over the subject cities might have been thought of as bringing a necessary restraint upon the individual, and a totalitarian merging of the individual will and mind with the will and mind of the state, Athenians enjoyed their fullest individual liberty and expressed themselves as individuals the most freely. Those were the days when politicians might be arraigned before the crowded theatre in the mordant comedies of an Aristophanes.

The tradition of the importance of the individual nature carries over into philosophy, and is re-voiced even after Athenian independence has become but a glorious memory. Thus the Middle Stoic Panaetius, as adapted by Cicero in his statesman's handbook (*Off.* 1.110), has this significant statement:

Moreover, each man must hold fast to his own individual characteristics, if only they be distinctive but not vicious, for the readier attainment of that propriety which is the object of our search. For we must act in such a way as not to oppose universal nature, but, with it safeguarded, to follow our own individual nature. Thus, even though there be careers better and of greater moment, we must yet measure our own efforts by the standard of our own nature.

### *The Inner Slavery*

*Servi, immo homines.* It is in this challenging cry of Seneca of old that we who are devoted to the tradition and teaching of the classical languages and civilizations may well find renewed encouragement, renewed direction and emphasis, in the work of our lives. For men and women today, even in those large segments of the world which we presume to call "free," are often slaves by deliberate choice and quite removed from the breath of liberty. The old Stoic paradox declared that "only the wise man is free, and every man unwise is a slave" (*Cic. Par.* 33)—a theme often enough repeated, both in passing and in profession, as for example, in the fifth satire of the usually disregarded but thoroughly earnest Persius. "Freedom," he says, "is what we want. But not that specious freedom that falls to the lot of any ex-slave

enrolled in the Veline tribe, and possessed of a citizen's ticket for a dole of mangy grain." (73-75) "No, it was no part of the manumitting official's function to grant to the unwise the sensitive laws of living; it would be easier to fit a delicate harp to the hands of a hulking poltroon." (93-95) And the Satirist proceeds then to typical servitudes of the free: *avarice* (132-53), *passion* (161-75), *ambition* (176-79), *superstition* (180-8).

What age has been free of these and like disorders that destroy true freedom and make the human being a slave? "For what is liberty?" asks Cicero in his *Paradoxes* (34). "The power of living as you wish. Who then lives as he wishes, except the man who lives uprightly?"

No one need rehearse the applicability of Persius' servitudes to our world of today. Many, in the very breath of a political freedom dearly bought and within the memory of all of us recently defended at colossal cost in lives and treasure, are yet slaves by individual choice to avarice, to passion, to ambition, to superstition. Material prosperity has made us worshippers of wealth; many have no wider horizon than the "good many human beings," of Horace (*Serm* 1.1.61f) who, "deceived by mistaken desire, say, 'Nothing is enough, because you *are* as much as you *have*.'" We have allowed ourselves to become enslaved, too, to the comforts of a mechanized existence—admittedly useful and convenient though these comforts are. Many have surrendered to a cynical disregard for personal morality, have made the race for top place their most consuming desire, have replaced religious conviction with oriental theosophy or a revived numerology.

Yes, there is enslavement today among politically free men and women, among those of mature years, and among those who come as our charges in high school and college and university. No one denies the fact, and right thinking persons are properly distressed over the fact. Religion, the churches, are lending their efforts against a condition so entirely intolerable. Is there no call for the aid of education other than religious, no summons to us in the tradition of liberal training?

### Philistinism

*Servi, immo homines.* Our proud boast has been that we belong to the tradition of liberal education, education of the peculiarly and distinctively human in young men and women—that we have thought of the faculties of intellect, will, emotions, and imagination as perfectible. By definite choice we have aligned ourselves, not with those who train for trade or profession, but with those whose prime objective is the perfection of those faculties which mark man as man. It is a bold choice, to be sure, and it commits us to an approval and an advocacy of that true liberal training which has been the heritage of the ages, and which in Renaissance times bore the proud badge of *studia humaniora*.

It is a choice that does not admit of compromise. It leads, and for generations has led, to bitterness and ridicule in the camps of those who favor a merely professionalized or even merely utilitarian education. Within past months, a speaker before the American Association of School Administrators, meeting in Saint Louis, Mr. William F. Russell, president of Teachers College, Columbia University, is reported (*St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, Feb. 26, 1952) to have "discussed three 'Idols of the American Educational Theater' which he said are at least partly false but represent views widely held"; and he named as the second Idol "that disagreeable, difficult and preferably useless work on a highly organized subject (such as Greek, Latin and mathematics) will train the mind, sharpen the judgment and have useful results far beyond the mastery of the subject itself."

And more recently, in the widely syndicated column called "Let's Explore Your Mind," Mr. Albert Edward Wiggam, whose name is invariably followed by "D.Sc.," asks as his first question for the day (*St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, March 11, 1952), "Are high school students losing interest in algebra, geometry and Latin?" His answer reads, in part, as follows:

Yes, thank goodness, United States Office of Education finds that these subjects have been declining in interest since 1934. Fortunately, arithmetic, home eco-

nomics, art, general biology and United States history have increased.

Now this sort of criticism, of course, is familiar to us over the years of our own teaching experiences, and is historical in that it antedates the span of our own professional lives. What Mr. Russell has had to say may be expected to confirm views already held by many administrators and many teachers; like many another utterance made within the solemn conclave of educational conferences, even though allotted some space in the daily press, it may fall but lightly on the consciousness of the general public. But Mr. Wiggam's query, with its playfully begun reply, is potentially more dangerous; in an age of columns, digests, and picture books, we read what we can grasp hastily—and Mr. Wiggam's column is illustrated.

#### *Artes Liberales*

*Servi, immo homines.* We believe—and the whole concept of genuinely liberal education holds with us—that there is place and need for a youth training which looks primarily to life and not to livelihood, important though the means of subsistence must be to us all. We believe that such liberal education is not the vestigial remnant of an outmoded aristocracy, where select young gentlemen, and they only, received the boon of advanced training. We believe that a democracy, if it is to survive, needs an increasingly extended mass education, within the limits of mass potentialities, in the traditional disciplines of a liberal curriculum.

In our own minds, we are serenely confident in the possibilities of the liberal training, and in the ancient classics of Greece and Rome as part of such training. Under questioning from without and self-examination from within, we have subjected our objectives, our methods, our course-contents to searching scrutiny; and we are continuing that process. Many of the allegations against us are anachronistic. We are eschewing, as we should, extravagant and misleading claims—calmly content with the great riches our subject demonstrably possesses. And yet we

find, often enough, the teachers of classics and of other fields in the pure humanities slighted by their administrators in favor of mentors whose subjects appear to have greater value for social or scientific or commercial aims. And such slighting is immediately reflected in the remuneration we receive for our services. Students, too, born and bred in a *milieu* of materialism, shy away like skittish colts from our subject and from any other very extensive discipline in the humanities, preferring subjects that may be immediately less intellectually demanding and ultimately more financially rewarding.

What, then, is to be our course of action? How are we to bring the teacher of humanities to a plane relatively equal to that of his fellows in respect of academic dignity and financial recognition? How are we to bring the great democratic societies in which we live to a genuine love of the humanities, and to a share in the priceless benefits the humanities possess?

These are questions to which all of us would desperately desire to know the answers. I can not pretend to give those replies. Yet certain possibilities, negatively and positively, offer at least a gleam of encouragement. We should *not* be merely defensive. We should *not* be apologetic, nor half-ashamed almost, of the subjects we teach. We should *not* claim too much. We should *not* be stubbornly inflexible in accidentals; for education is, after all, a living and growing process, necessarily undergoing mutations in means and methods, in content, and in adaptations.

We *should* take our stand on the traditional platform of liberal education—that of a training of the whole man, in his highest capacities. We *should* make it altogether clear that liberal education, in high school and more especially in college, need not result in anything immediately convertible in terms of financial gain—but that it looks rather to the perfecting of the human being, in all his potential excellences, and unto the realization of his high destinies. We *should*, more and more, by all reasonable and legitimate means in our

## Caesar and Britain

THERE HAS BEEN PUBLISHED a most excellent little book on the art of war on land by Lt. Colonel A. H. Burne, D.S.O., R.A., Rtd.\* Colonel Burne is a distinguished writer on military affairs and is by way of being what we in this country call a "military expert." In his case the title is a correct one and is in no sense derogatory, as it is in the case of some in America who are known by that name. It is manifestly absurd to call some of our writers on the war "military experts," but it has been done so often that the very name itself has given rise to a feeling of good-humored contempt and disdain whenever the title has been mentioned. Be that as it may, Colonel Burne, as well as being a proficient writer on military affairs, is himself an able and experienced soldier.

*The Art of War on Land* consists of a clear exposition of the principles of war and then illustration of those principles as they were exhibited in a series of battles from Kadesh, 1288 B.C. to Tunisia, 1943 A.D. One chapter,

\* Burne, Alfred H., *The Art of War on Land*, Harrisburg, Pa.: The Military Service Publishing Co., 1947. (The lateness of the appearance of this rebuttal of Burne is not at the fault of our loyal supporter, Col. Brady. Ed.)

power, bring the merits of our program to the attention of the great reading and listening—yes, in these days of television, and seeing—public, in the hope of winning the many, and through them influencing the schools and school administrators.

The Roman Vitruvius opens his sixth book with the following words:

Aristippus, a philosopher of the Socratic school, was shipwrecked on the shores of Rhodes, and upon noting there the markings of certain geometric diagrams exclaimed, it is said, to his companions: "Let us be of good hopes, for I see the traces of human beings!" And immediately he hastened to the city of Rhodes and went directly to the gymnasium. There he discoursed upon philosophy, and was presented so generously with gifts that he not alone equipped himself, but supplied his

and the one with which we are here concerned, is devoted to Caesar's second invasion of Britain. In it the following points are made: (1) Caesar clearly intended to winter in, and aimed at permanent conquest of, Britain. (2) From a first invasion Caesar learned practically nothing. (3) A co-ordinated plan was formed for Cassivellaunus to entice Caesar toward the west and for the four Kings of Kent to attack his base in the east. (4) Caesar's stated reasons for quitting Britain, the Equinox and the unsettled state of Gaul, were both false. (5) Caesar trusted his subordinates no more than Napoleon trusted his marshals. (6) His efforts were received with disappointment at Rome. (7) Cassivellaunus thwarted Caesar's plan and the invasion was a failure. (8) This invasion was the most ambitious project of Caesar's entire career and Cassivellaunus "spoiled Caesar's destiny." I believe that these points constitute a fair outline of the author's belief in the chapter in question.

I propose, insofar as I am able, to refute each one of these statements. Some cannot, I think, be refuted *in toto* and must be answered only partially. But I am bold enough to claim that they all can be refuted in some degree

companions with clothing and all their other needs of livelihood. Now when these were of a mind to return to their native land, they asked Aristippus what word he cared to send home. Thereupon he commissioned them to say: "We should make available for our children chattels and journey provisions of such sort as can escape with them even from shipwreck. For the true safeguards to life are goods which neither hostile fortune's storm can harm, nor change of governments, nor destructiveness of war." (*De Arch.* 6.1-2)

The classical tradition in education looks to "chattels and journey provisions" that "can escape . . . even from shipwreck"; for it strives to impart no servile appurtenances, but perfections of the very humanity of man.

W. C. KORFMACHER

St. Louis University

and perhaps in the process a very tiny contribution to history, infinitesimal if you will, can be made. Let that be the excuse for this article.

The chapter commences with a quotation from the historian Froude in which he states that Caesar, having no intention of wintering in Britain, considered that he had done enough and need go no further, that everything aimed at had been gained, and that the expedition to Britain had produced all the effects Caesar expected from it. Colonel Burne then says that "certain agreed facts do not fit in with this interpretation" and that "it is established that Caesar in invading Kent in 54 B.C. did aim at permanent conquest, but that for some reason he changed his mind after being in the country only seven weeks and that he quitted it incontinently never to return."

Let us for a moment look into this "agreement" and "establishment." There are some historians of repute who think that Caesar did intend to winter in and conquer Britain permanently. There are others of equal repute who disagree. To substantiate this or any such "establishment" would seem to require a clear majority composed of those in agreement; or, if not a majority of all writers on the subject, then a majority of those writers who are considered outstanding experts. Such does not seem to be the case in the present situation.

Suppose we begin with Caesar himself who says: *Caesar, cum constituisset hiemare in continenti propter repentinos Galliae motus*, . . . In other words Caesar had decided to winter in Gaul rather than in his usual place, Italy, because of the sudden commotions. Then, for example, R. G. Collingwood, the well-known writer on Roman Britain: "but his invasion of 55-54 B.C. was probably no more than a demonstration or a reconnaissance in force; he did not aim at conquering the country." And again: ". . . and although his invasions were rather a demonstration than an attempt at conquest, he made Britain realize the weight of Rome's hand." W. E. Lunt in his *History of England* says on page 22: "In order to persuade the British Celts to

mind their own business, he made armed demonstrations against them in 55 and 54 B.C." Jenkins and Wagener in their *Latin and the Romans, Book II*, have this to say: "He felt . . . the need to repeat for the Britons the lesson he had taught the Germans." Ferrero in his *Life of Caesar* says: ". . . it is hardly likely that he expected to effect the conquest of the whole island. Perhaps he intended nothing more than a filibustering expedition on an unusually large scale. . . and to give the Romans new material for celebrations." Farther on he adds: "He . . . wished to diminish the unrest prevalent throughout Gaul." Froude in *Caesar, A Sketch* has the following: "The object of the invasion had been rather to secure the quiet of Gaul than the annexation of new subjects and further territory," and the expedition "had been undertaken rather for effect than for material advantage." Oman in his *History of England* on page 4 declares that: "he wished to strike terror into its inhabitants." Haverfield and MacDonald, outstanding authorities on Roman Britain, in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* call Caesar's two invasions out and out "raids" as Scramuzza calls them "incursions." Other authorities can be cited who hold the same opinion.

So that, considering mainly modern historians, it would seem not quite correct to suppose that "it is established that Caesar did aim at permanent conquest." And if that supposition be not correct then may we not properly ask: "If Caesar did not aim at permanent conquest, what were his reasons for visiting Britain?"

Again let us hear first what Caesar himself says: *quod omnibus fere Gallicis bellis hostibus nostris inde subministrata auxilia intellegebat*. And this we believe furnishes the real reason for his British campaigns. Again, while some authorities admittedly give as his reason for invading Britain the desire for permanent conquest, others see the natural consequence of Caesar's statement as the prime cause of his entering Britain.

So Collingwood again: "The warlike and spirited tribes of the Low Countries and of north-eastern France had not been conquered



by Julius Caesar without difficulty; and the existence of a large island within sight of their shores, populated by Celts of their own race and language, and standing outside the Roman empire, could only be a motive for disaffection, when any rebel might raise an army in Britain and if defeated retire to Britain to escape the hand of Rome and to recruit his forces at leisure." And "this was what led Caesar to invade the island in 55 and 54 B.C."

And Lunt again: "In the course of his campaigns he found that the Celts of Gaul were receiving aid from the Celts of Britain. In order to persuade the British Celts to mind their own business, he made armed demonstrations against them." Collingwood and Myres in their *Roman Britain*: "there is little room for doubt that the same motives [rising in Gaul] played a part in determining the enterprise itself." "For the sake of Gaulish security, therefore, Britain must be made harmless." Warde Fowler in his *Julius Caesar*: "He knew well enough that the Gaul he had conquered was not yet reconciled to his conquest. He had evidence on the very eve of setting out that disaffection was abroad." And "the connection between the continental and insular Celts was too intimate to allow the Romans to hold the former in subjection without at least keeping check on the latter."

Cheyney in his *Short History of England* says that it was the British help to Gaul which determined Caesar to invade the island. Sagot in his *La Bretagne Romaine* adds this: *La raison suivante, nous dit le premier, le déterminait à passer dans l'île: dans ses campagnes en Gaule, les adversaires de Rome avaient presque constamment reçu assistance de la Bretagne. De fait, ce pays avait été l'asile des chefs bellovaques fuyant la colère du dictateur, et les Bretons avaient sur leur demande envoyé aux Vénètes des navires.*

Therefore, while it can not be stated as an out and out fact, there is good reason, as before, for believing that Caesar went to Britain mainly to protect his conquest of Gaul. This view held by many authorities is also supported in other ways. Against the

idea of a permanent conquest, some authorities consider that Caesar momentarily gave up the idea of a second invasion even after all the preparations, alleging the difficulty of the crossing and landing, lack of booty, and lack of any real study of the Channel storms and tides, etc. In early July Quintus Cicero wrote to his brother that Caesar was on the point of giving up the whole idea of another expedition to Britain. Ferrero says: "another risk . . . caused Caesar to hesitate [Indutiomarus and Dumnorix]." "Disquieted by these general manifestations of discontent Caesar had asked himself for a moment if it would not be more prudent to renounce the whole enterprise." All such vacillating conduct in one of the six great soldiers of the world can, only with the greatest difficulty, be reconciled with a set and determined purpose to conquer Britain and to occupy it permanently.

Now let us consider Caesar's force for the British expedition, five legions and two thousand Gallic cavalymen. No mention is made of light-armed infantry, archers or slingers. This force we should consider to number about 22,000 at the most. Many authorities believe that Caesar's legions about this time in the Gallic wars averaged around 3,600 men, which would give him a force of some 20,000 men and this figure is probably more nearly correct. And here we see that Caesar, intent upon overawing a single tribe, the Treveri, albeit a large one, took with him four legions and 800 horsemen, almost as large a force as we are led to believe was destined for the permanent conquest of a little-known and large island. This procedure again does not go hand in hand with the preparations necessary for a complete subjugation of Britain.

Especially is this true when we consider the force that the Romans deemed necessary really to conquer Britain, a Britain which one hundred years later was much better known and even somewhat Romanized. In 43 A.D. the Emperor Claudius decided on the conquest of the island and assembled therefor a force of four or perhaps five legions, but certainly four legions, with one or two detach-

ments from other legions. These legions, carefully selected and commanded by able men, were probably recruited up to full strength, and were accompanied by an approximately equal number of chosen auxiliary troops of all arms, strong in cavalry, most useful in Britain, and including, it is said, the ancient equivalent of tanks, elephants. This force, considered by Haverfield and MacDonald as "singularly well-equipped," some authorities estimate as high as 50,000 men or about one fifth of the entire Roman regular army of that period; and with that number one is inclined to agree. Indeed Scramuzza estimates that 40,000 auxiliaries alone crossed over to Britain in the first year of the war. Léon Homo adds: "Le corps expéditionnaire, soigneusement recruté parmi les meilleurs troupes de l'Empire, . . . au total 40.000, à 50.000 hommes." All this force was transported not in an irregular fleet such as Caesar's but in a fleet newly formed for this purpose by the Emperor Claudius from ships and crews of the regular standing navy and called "The British Fleet, Royal Navy" or "Classis Augusta Britannica." The ablest frontier general the Romans had at that time was selected for the command of the whole landing expedition. In addition to these troops the Emperor Claudius brought over a detachment of Praetorians as a small reinforcement. So that, to conquer a much better known and partially Romanized Britain, the Romans of that age, lesser men than Caesar, considered that a force—grant Caesar if you will 25,000 men—twice that size, much better organized and commanded by their best general as just sufficient!

No, in sum, little evidence can be found pointing to a permanent occupation of Britain. The main, the important, the evident point was to show the Gauls that they could expect no more aid from or permanent asylum in Britain. And most of the evidence available apparently points to that as being Caesar's purpose. It is safe to assume that, had the going been particularly easy and had no troubles arisen in Gaul, Caesar might have wintered in Britain. Any successful soldier

will ordinarily take advantage of all favorable contingencies. But even here there seems to be evidence that Caesar intended to return to Gaul, completely victorious or only partially so. The present writer is totally unable to see any intention at all by Caesar to conquer Britain permanently.

We come now to the second point, that from a first invasion Caesar learned practically nothing. This inference must be characterised simply as untrue. Very definitely Caesar learned how many and what types and sizes of ships he should use for the transport of men, materiel, and horses. He learned how these ships should be handled. He learned how the Britons fought. He learned a little of the effects of the tide. He learned that the Britons could be defeated and that with more troops they could be brought to sue for peace. He learned to leave enough men behind to guard his base camp. He learned, according to Collingwood and Myres, that "the combined cavalry and chariot attack, though alarming to his men when used against scattered parties of infantry, was not dangerous to a legion in battle formation"; and that "in at least the south-eastern part of Britain there was abundance of grain to be had at the harvest time." His men learned that they were better men than the Britons, and he accustomed them to the sight of these painted barbarians. In fact, from his first invasion he learned so much that his second landing on a hostile shore, generally a difficult and costly operation, was entirely unopposed and cost him, from enemy action, no lives at all and no loss in materiel!

"A co-ordinated plan was formed for Cassivellaunus to entice Caesar toward the west and for the four Kings of Kent to attack his base in the east." In describing the battle with Cassivellaunus after the repair of the ships, Colonel Burne says that "the Britons drew off for the night. That night must have been a time of anxiety for the Roman army, but nothing untoward occurred." Caesar's words are: *Illi pluribus submissis cohortibus repelluntur*. So why it must have been a time of anxiety for the Romans, we are unable to



see. A time of caution, yes; of anxiety, no. The next day Caesar says: *Caesar pabulandi causa tres legiones atque omnem equitatum cum Gaio Trebonio legato mississet*. Colonel Burne says: "Caesar took the precaution of sending an immense escort—three legions and the whole of his cavalry, more than half his army, which seems rather a timorous proceeding. However that may be, Cassivellaunus was not deterred by the size of the covering force, [he should have been! SGB] but boldly attacked it. The Romans had been drawn into some sort of ambush, for without notice they were suddenly attacked from all sides. The cavalry were driven in, and the British continued their charge right up to the serried lines of the legions." In other words (those of Collingwood and Myres) what happened was this: "At the same time, he saw how these British tactics could be met, and next day he put his plan into operation. He sent out nearly half his infantry, about noon, to forage: the Britons fell into the trap." And "the cavalry . . . swept the Britons from the field, kept them on the run . . . and routed them decisively." Cassivellaunus boldly walked into the trap and it was the Britons rather than the Romans who had been drawn into "some sort of an ambush." Oman calls this "a decisive defeat for Cassivellaunus." Indeed so decisive was the defeat that as Caesar said, *Ex hac fuga protinus, quae undique convenerant auxilia discesserunt, neque post id tempus umquam summis nobiscum copiis hostes contenderunt*.

Colonel Burne says that "... Caesar noticed that the Kentish contingents disappeared, and he believed—indeed he stated as a fact in his *Commentaries*—that Cassivellaunus had disbanded them and sent them to their own homes." All that Caesar said was the sentence given above and *Cassivellaunus . . . dimissis amplioribus copiis*. Colonel Burne continues: "But he was evidently mistaken. A war council must have been held . . . and a plan formed, bold in essence and decisive in result. ("In result" might have been changed to "if successful.") The allied army (!) was to split into two

parts. The Kentish contingents were to remain in Kent, and after Caesar had been enticed away, attack the base camp. Meanwhile Cassivellaunus with the northern contingents was to draw the Romans away toward their own country, harassing them on the way but utilising their superior mobility to keep out of range of Caesar's main body of legionaries." A footnote adds: "It is absurd to believe that if Cassivellaunus ordered an attack on the base camp approximately four days later he would at the same time have demobilized a great part of his army. It would have been the act of a madman."

All this comes from the two sentences of Caesar given above and from two more: *His rebus cognitis a captivis perfugisque and quibus regionibus quattuor reges praeerant, Cingetorix, Carvilius, Taximagulus, Segovax, nuntios mittit atque eis imperat uti coactis omnibus copiis navalia de improvviso adorianatur atque oppugnent*. Surely a great deal to be gathered from four sentences. It is not understood why it was the act of a madman to demobilize a great part of his army. He demobilized that part which was useless for his work and perhaps even a liability—some authorities consider that the men deserted—troops of little mobility, and kept that part which was of any help to him, the charioteers.

Now as to "enticing away." Collingwood and Myres again: "... Caesar 'resolved to end the war by striking at his (Cassivellaunus) territory.'" Walker in his *Caesar's Gallic War* on page 292: "Caesar on the other hand determined to put an end to the contest, and marched farther inland." Fletcher Pratt in *Hail, Caesar!*: "He (Cassivellaunus) was the soul of the resistance, it would go down if he were beaten." Jenkins and Wagener in *Latin and the Romans, Book II*: "Caesar knew that he must pursue Cassivellaunus to the fortified town which was his stronghold and destroy this before that chieftain would yield." Note such words as "end the war" and "end to the contest" rather than "complete the conquest." Caesar simply followed the principle of the objective. He was after what was left of the Britons' main army and if that remnant

melted away he would do the next best thing and deliver as telling a blow as he could. So Collingwood and Myres: "The chief problem of strategy had been the discovery and destruction of the fortresses belonging to the British tribes against which he was fighting; and this had been done." And except for the advantage, dubious in this case, of operating on his own ground, why should Cassivellaunus "entice" Caesar and the main enemy army right into his own kingdom and through the territory of a tribe friendly to the Romans? Why not entice them in some other direction? Would Caesar have helped his own cause by just sitting where he was or by going back? The validity of the use of the word "enticing" is not at all clear to the present writer.

On July 24 the four Kings of Kent made their unsuccessful attack on the Roman base camp. We are told to picture the bearer of this "sinister" news starting out hotfoot in pursuit of Caesar. And what did Caesar do? As Oman says: "Moving across the Lea into their land (the Trinobantes), he procured for himself a near and secure base in a friendly country" (enticed there by Cassivellaunus himself!) and then he went on to capture the *oppidum*. And when was he back at the base camp? August 5!

That Cassivellaunus caused the four Kings of Kent to attack Caesar's base camp is not disputed. Caesar himself gives the credit for the idea to the British king. But to say, as Colonel Burne does, that "the audacity of the design is almost staggering" is almost staggering. Yet it was a nice piece of work and, had the principle of concentration, which Colonel Burne says Cassivellaunus deliberately ignored, been followed, it might really have resulted seriously for Caesar. Cassivellaunus must surely have had accurate enough knowledge of the force left to protect the Roman base camp. It was at that place that the main blow should have come with all the wallop possible. Why was the force detailed for that task not strong enough? Colonel Burne goes on to say that Cassivellaunus "had duly noted the Roman's extreme sensitiveness for the safety of his base." Elsewhere in the essay

this sensitiveness is called "natural." As if in such a situation the veriest tyro could not see this. It would take no military genius at all to realize that Caesar's base camp was the soft spot, *le point sensible*. That was recognized by the Britons even in the first invasion. No, Cassivellaunus, in the parlance of the radio, planned "a nice try" but it didn't work.

Much is made of Cassivellaunus' adherence to the principle of surprise. It is stated that "the Kentish contingents suddenly disappeared. Probably they purposely spread prisoners' tales that Cassivellaunus had disbanded them." "Caesar admits that he credited this dispersal, nor would he have ventured to press on into the heart of the country had he realized that he was leaving an intact enemy behind him." (Italics ours) What was this "intact enemy"? A medium force of beaten Britons who in Colonel Burne's own words "can hardly have had much expectation of capturing it (the Roman base camp)." Yet we are told later that this beaten and skeptical corps "felt itself strong enough to assault an entrenched camp occupied by a powerful garrison and to make such an impression on it that the Roman commander was hastily recalled." Colonel Burne himself adds that the camp was probably furnished with "artillery"—catapults and *ballistae*. The application of the principle of surprise, like the application of any other principle of war, to be effective, must be successful or at least largely so. When the surprise fails to have any real result, it is wasted. It was so wasted here. The "brilliant plan" may or may not have deceived Caesar. But when a commander prepares for a certain eventuality and that eventuality happens, it is difficult to speak of a successful "surprise."

Out of all this, what it is believed can be legitimately gathered is that Cassivellaunus as a sort of last gesture did get the four Kings of Kent to make what turned out to be an ineffective assault on the Roman base camp. Oman (*England before the Conquest*) again: "unable to crush the moderate force of ten cohorts and 300 horse which Q. Atrius had at his disposal, and a sudden rally of the Romans scattered them with great loss."

"The diversion in Kent proved of no effect." Again in the parlance of the day, it was nice going, but it just didn't click.

"Caesar's stated reason for quitting Britain, the Equinox and the unsettled state of Gaul were both false." We commence with Sagot: *Les mouvements soudains qu'il redoutait chez les Gaulois, en le forçant à hiverner sur le continent*. . . . Oman continues: "For the proconsul was anxious to leave Britain; not much of the summer remained, and the reports of trouble and disloyalty in Gaul were beginning to disturb him. Indeed the great insurrection which broke out in the next year but one was already brewing, and if the five legions now in Britain had remained absent any longer the revolt might have started in the autumn of 54." Collingwood and Myres rightly state that it was the need for taking precautions against risings that dictated Caesar's final acts on the continent, before he crossed on his last British effort. It was fear of the imminence of these risings that made him abandon his expedition and his anxiety to get going increased as the Equinox neared. This turn for the worse in the spirit of Gallic affairs was the cause for Caesar's breaking off the British war at the finish of the campaign. Even when the campaign started there were signs in the air that it was coming and Caesar knew it; he endeavored to guard against it by taking along with him some Gallic chiefs, and Dumnorix' fate proved to him that his care was not in vain. Fletcher Pratt in his *Hail, Caesar!* on page 154 says: "As soon as Caesar was on the ground (the coast) he sniffed an odor of smoldering antagonism among the chiefs present for the annual great Gallic council." . . . Indutiomarus "made submission. It was not permanent; Caesar knew that." As Ferrero correctly pointed out, Caesar reduced the whole undertaking to the most modest proportions, taking only five legions and two thousand cavalymen. He left three legions in Gaul under Labienus (another instance of his confidence in that officer) and in reality made every disposition for a quick return and for the surveillance of Gaul while he was away. Scarcely had he returned from Britain when serious trouble did

break out on the Continent. Tasgetius, the man whom Caesar had put over the Carnutes, was suddenly murdered and Caesar was so disturbed that he felt he had to send a legion into the land of the Carnutes. Oman has this: "but troubles in Gaul called him home again." Colonel Dodge: "Caesar, as the summer was far spent . . . felt that he must return to Gaul, where some tribes *had revolted* and *others were threatening to follow suit*." "He had not left a force to hold what he had conquered." T. Rice Holmes: "On each occasion Caesar left behind him a force sufficient to keep open his communications and to *overawe intending rebels*; and on the second expedition he took with him all the chiefs whom he had the slightest reason to suspect." "The chiefs were in a dangerous mood and the populace was ready to back them. Caesar was perfectly aware of their temper: indeed *he had returned prematurely from Britain because he was warned that disturbances were impending*." Farther on he continues: "All this time one chief in particular whose pride Caesar had humbled was busily intriguing against him." "It is probable that during Caesar's absence he was concocting schemes of revenge." Also Froude: "In Gaul . . . the elements of disquiet were silently working and *the winter was about to produce* the most serious disaster and the sharpest trials which Caesar had yet experienced." (All Italics ours)

As we have already established Caesar's intention to winter in Britain as doubtful to say the least, the state of the weather in the Channel might have been particularly relevant. Colonel Burne says that "so quiet was Gaul on his return that he was able to disperse his troops into winter quarters." In a review of a book on Caesar, Colonel Burne adds: Caesar "explained his action by a palpable lie—the unsettled state of Gaul. But on arrival back in Gaul did he set about pacifying the disturbed country? On the contrary, he put his troops into winter quarters." "His remark suggests that commotions had already broken out, but they had not; nor was there immediate prospect of them."

Great point is made of the quietness of

Gaul and of the fact that Caesar put his troops into winter quarters. But Gaul was not quiet. Colonel Burne has Caesar hurrying back to the coast because the attack on the camp was hard pressed and was to be followed by another. How this can be gathered from Caesar, it is difficult to see. The Roman says: *Ei cum ad castra venissent, nostri eruptione facta multis eorum interfectis, capto etiam nobili duce Lutorige suos incolumes reduxerunt*. Sagot says: *À tout prix il fallait communiquer avec la Gaule*. Fletcher Pratt in *Hail, Caesar!* again: "For word had just come through from Labienus that north Gaul was in a ferment, with the chiefs plotting wars and revenges . . . and the people . . . willing to listen to any madness." Collingwood and Myres: . . . "About this time (5th August) he was himself present at the camp." "As is more probable it was the state of Gaul that caused him anxiety, and he returned to the Channel in order more quickly to exchange letters about it with Labienus." Caesar himself had given Labienus instructions that . . . *quaeque in Gallia gererentur cognosceret*.

No, Gaul was not quiet. We saw that he had scarcely landed in Gaul when the Tasgetius affair took place and a legion was sent among the Carnutes. And immediately afterwards there occurred Ambiorix' revolt which could not have taken place on the spur of the moment and which must have been planned for some time. Then followed the Nervian rebellion. Indutiomarus and the Treveri, Carnutes, and Atuatucae again rose. Lucius Roscius' legion was threatened. The Senones attempted to kill Caesar's man Cavarinus. Ambiorix' revolt alone destroyed a legion and a half, and had Caesar remained in Britain as Colonel Burne thinks it was feasible for him to have done, it is quite possible that he might have lost not only the legion and a half but all three legions.

It is reasonable to say that there may possibly be times when one of the best means of pacifying a disturbed country is to put your troops in quarters and occupy it. And this moment was one of those times. The main

thing in pacifying Gaul then was to get the troops back in it and get them there without delay. Roman winter camps were not rest camps but fortified and provisioned depots from which troops could and did take the field very quickly. (*Exit cum nuntio Crassus*.) They might even be classed as "positions in readiness." Colonel Burne's remarks about putting troops in winter quarters apparently seem to preclude for him all idea of positive action. What should Caesar have done? Concentrate all his troops in some central location and wait there for something to happen? Would that pacify Gaul better? A poor crop that year made the logistic side of such a decision more difficult. And had he done so, would not the Gauls have simply bided their time? No, as was said above, many times in history the dispersal of troops in strategic locations over a defeated country has been the very best means of pacifying it. And further credence is lent to Caesar's statement by the fact that contrary to his usual custom he resolved not to leave Gaul until he had reports that all the legionary camps were completed and ready for the winter and that the country was calming down. In fact, he did not leave at all, but, as he had originally intended, remained in Gaul throughout the winter. It is true that some of his dispositions, owing to extremely poor work on the part of his subordinates, proved faulty. But that does not alter the fact that he did take steps to pacify and overawe the disturbed country by putting his troops in readiness in proper locations strategically and logistically, and, contrary to his usual custom, by remaining with them and seeing that they were manned, provisioned, and equipped.

So that to say that "Caesar explained his action by a palpable lie" is simply incorrect. By the mere arrival of his troops back in Gaul, if nothing more, he *did* set about pacifying it. A few Roman legions around could be quite efficient pacifiers. There was certainly immediate prospect of commotions breaking out because they actually did almost immediately after his arrival back in Gaul. And certainly the state of Gaul had changed for

the worse while Caesar was in Britain.

As for the contention that Caesar trusted his subordinates no more than Napoleon trusted his marshals, this writer is not competent to pass on the Napoleon part, but that Caesar trusted one of his subordinates, Labienus, is amply proved. There are several well-known instances in the *Commentaries* where it is evident that Labienus was a thoroughly trusted officer.

The statement that Caesar's efforts were received with disappointment at Rome is one certainly open to question. While some few ancient and modern authorities seem to have held and to hold that view now, many others, both ancient and modern, disagree. Sagot again: *Les succès de César dans l'île furent célébrés par les Romains à l'égal d'une conquête: la littérature et les monnaies en témoignent.* Suetonius, *Divus Julius*: *Adgressus est et Britannos ignotos antea superatisque pecunias et obsides imperavit.* Ovid, *Metamorphoses*: *Scilicet aequoreos est plus domuisse Britannos.* Plutarch, *Life of Caesar*: "But his expedition into Britain was the most famous testimony of his courage. For he was the first who brought a navy into the western ocean, or who sailed into the Atlantic with an army to make war; and by invading an island, the reported extent of which made its existence a matter of controversy among historians, many of whom questioned whether it were not a mere name and fiction, not a real place, he might be said to have carried the Roman empire beyond the limits of the known world." Even Tacitus, *Agricola*: "Accordingly Julius Caesar, the first Roman who entered Britain with an army . . . terrified the inhabitants by a successful engagement, and became master of the shore." (Kendrick's Translation) Froude: . . . "The Romans talked with admiration for a century of the far land to which Caesar had borne the eagles: and no exploit gave him more fame with his contemporaries." Boak in his *History of Rome*: "The island had felt the power of Rome." "In Rome the exploit (Caesar's second incursion) produced great excitement and enthusiasm." There are Roman coins extant of Caesar's time with

scythed British chariots portrayed thereon. Perhaps Caesar's efforts were received at Rome with some enthusiasm.

Colonel Burne says that the idea that the *oppidum Cassivellauni* was the capital of the Catuvellauni is unwarranted, basing his statement mainly on the fact that the *oppidum* was on the border. Again the present writer is incompetent to pass on the question, but some authorities quoted above do consider it as Cassivellaunus' capital. Also is the idea of capitals on borders so strange? Might not one wish to take advantage of a deep river as an obstacle or to be able to keep an eye on a potential enemy? Washington is practically on the sea coast; so are London, Rome, Athens, and Buenos Aires. Ottawa is very near New York State. Canberra and Jerusalem are near the sea, and there are many others. To our sorrow and that of Great Britain and France we know that Berlin is quite near Germany's eastern border.

The question is asked: "Who would allow the enemy to take his capital without troubling to oppose him in person with his main army?" Vercingetorix can be named at once as one who wanted to do that very thing in the case of the capital of the Bituriges, the finest city in all Gaul. Nor did Vercingetorix want to defend Alesia, but he was forced to do so. The Romans in 211 B.C. refused to take their main army away from Capua when Hannibal was at the very gates of a panic-stricken Rome. And it is quite possible that many more historical examples can be found down the ages.

As regards the action at the *oppidum* Colonel Burne says: "The garrison made no real effort to defend it and slipped out without losing any prisoners. But—and this is the significant point—Cassivellaunus and his main body were not there to defend it." Then follow two paragraphs of surmises as to where the British king was. Here is what Caesar says: . . . *Cognoscit non longe ex eo loco oppidum Cassivellauni abesse silvis paludibusque munitum, quo satis magnus hominum pecorisque numerus convenerit. Oppidum autem Britanni vocant, cum silvas impeditas vallo*

atque fossa munierunt, quo incursiones hostium vitandae causa convenire consuerunt. Eo proficiscitur cum legionibus: locum reperit egregie natura atque opere munitum; tamen hunc duabus ex partibus oppugnare contendit. Hostes paulisper morati militum nostrorum impetum non tulerunt seseque alia ex parte oppidi eiecerunt. Magnus ibi numerus pecoris repertus, MULTIQUE IN FUGA SUNT COMPREHENSI ATQUE INTERFECTI. The two accounts do not agree at all. And upon what authority is it stated that Cassivellaunus and his main body were not there?

Colonel Burne by stating that Caesar did not dare delay the departure any longer leads us to believe that it was fear of the Britons which caused the haste. Caesar says it was the nearness of the Equinox; but at any rate Oman calls attention to the fact that "no attempt was made by the islanders to molest the second section of the army after the first had sailed; they were now thoroughly cowed." And they were. Victorious troops, well-led, would not have allowed a beaten Caesar to depart in peace without loss. And incidentally, speaking of the Equinox, is it in character for a great general of ancient times to embark upon a permanent conquest so late in the year?

In his comments Colonel Burne says that Caesar never found the solution to the question of the new weapon, the chariot, and that he was never able to get to grips with the British main army for the remainder of the campaign. As regards the chariots Collingwood and Myres have this to say: "The chief problem of tactics had been how to deal with the British charioteers, and this had been solved not only by the discovery that they were helpless against a legion in battleformation, but by the further discovery that a sufficient body of Gaulish horse properly supported by infantry could break them up and rout them by a well-timed charge." And Colonel Burne himself says in the very last sentence of the essay: "But, as in the case of the tanks in the Great War and during bombing in the subsequent one, familiarity breeds contempt, and eventually Caesar discovered

at least a partial answer to this new weapon, (and in much less time, too—SGB) which was found to lose its terror as the novelty wore off." And as for being able to get to grips with the British main army, that "main army" consisting of some four thousand charioteers just faded away. Even Colonel Burne doesn't state what became of them.

"Cassivellaunus thwarted Caesar's plan and the invasion was a failure." Again there are a few who agree wholly or in part but many more do not. T. Rice Holmes: "Caesar's avowed objects in invading Britain were to inform himself about the island and its inhabitants and to punish the southern tribes who had helped their kinsmen in Gaul to resist him." "The avowed objects were effectually gained;—the Britons ceased to abet the resistance of their kinsmen beyond the strait." Froude: "The Gauls looked no more across the channel for support of insurrections." Scudder in *Second Year Latin* says: "His invasion had several important results. The immediate consequences were (1) that the Britons ceased to aid the Gauls in resisting the Romans, and (2) that the trade between Gaul and Britain was greatly stimulated. But a more important result was the conviction that it would be both easy and worth-while for Rome to conquer Britain. In this Caesar was the pioneer." Jenkins and Wagener in *Latin and the Romans, Book II* again: "The capture of this stronghold (the *oppidum*) broke the resistance of the Britons." Oman once again: Cassivellaunus "was finally reduced to despair by the capture of his chief stronghold." "Though the fortress of the Catuvellauni was a formidable specimen of its class, it was taken with no great difficulty." Farther on Oman continues: "After this disaster the king sued for peace, being anxious to get rid of Caesar at all costs (quite evidently!)." A final paragraph adds: "Indeed, but for the great revolt of the Gauls under Vercingetorix in the year 52, it is probable that the Britons would have continued to pay their tribute, and to observe the terms imposed upon them, for some time." Caesar "had shown the way to Britain."



According to Collingwood and Myres Cassivellaunus realized that he was defeated. His capital city was destroyed, and his methods of fighting had proved decisively inferior to those of the Romans. The campaign had been fought to a finish, and the victory rested with the Romans. From a strictly military point of view, Caesar was entitled to consider his incursions into Britain successful. From a political point of view the success was just as real. The political consequences of his feats in Britain were just as favorable as those which he had achieved with the Gauls. As compared with his record in Gaul down to that point, was the record of his British campaign such as to make him consider his progress rapid enough? The most probable answer is, yes. He considered that the tribes which he beat in 54 were the most civilized in Britain, and must therefore have hoped that the rest would offer a less strong resistance. He knew nothing about the difficulties of a war in the highland zone, and nothing of the large hill-fortresses that defended the Wessex Downs. Nor, indeed, can we say that a captain of Caesar's calibre would have been defeated by these obstacles. There was nothing in the lessons of the first campaign to make him change his mind in the fall of 54. The most obvious lesson to be gathered both by Britons and by Romans from Caesar's attack was that any difficulties which might arise from the dangers of the sea and the power of the Britons were not, for the Romans, insurmountable. In reality Rome could take over Britain whenever she wanted to but not until there was a pacified Gaul in rear, able to provide advance bases for such an expedition. Any one could see that; but Colonel Burne has it that Caesar, one of the world's great soldiers, could not. Just as he had not had enough men for Gaul and Germany, Caesar knew too that he did not have enough men for both Gaul and Britain. But when the Romans did have the men and bases, the Claudian invasion certainly seems to bear traces of planning by people who had made a study of Caesar's account of his own. The strategy of that whole

landing was apparently modelled closely on Caesar's invasion. His story of his own expedition was used throughout the Claudian effort as an instruction book by the members of the Roman staff. It might well be added that a man who, although himself besieged and possessing a far smaller force, could decisively defeat one of the greatest "barbarian" leaders, Vercingetorix, in charge of one third of a million Gauls, would not worry too much about a lesser Cassivellaunus and his four thousand charioteers. Such a man if he had really made up his mind to conquer Britain would not have been so easily stopped.

Towle and Jenks in *Caesar's Gallic War*: "But Caesar accomplished much, if not all that he wished, by his second invasion, since he showed the Gauls that neither the Rhine nor even the ocean could stop him from an expedition in force." Cheyney in *A Short History of England*: "Nevertheless his campaigns prevented any possible alliance on the part of the Britons with the Gauls." Colonel Dodge: "After this defeat Cassivellaunus, thoroughly alarmed by his want of success, by the wasting of the country, and by the desertion of many tribes concluded to treat for peace." Sagot: *De toute manière, ce sont des Gallo-Bretons que César a vaincus*. No plan of action of Cassivellaunus the British king was responsible for leading Caesar to abandon his attempt in Britain.

There remain only two thoughts. "This invasion was the most ambitious project of Julius Caesar's entire career" and "Cassivellaunus was the man who spoiled Caesar's destiny." Little need be said of these. When one thinks of the relatively unimportant, though spectacular, Britain, of the bridge over the Rhine, of Gaul itself, of Vercingetorix and Alesia, of the Civil wars, of Caesar's whole life, the two statements become, in all charity, almost absurdities.

Let me add a final point. Lest (from my name!) anyone should think otherwise, I desire to set myself down as a professed admirer of England and most things British. In fact, I may be fairly called an Anglophile. I regard England as one of the four great countries

down through mediaeval history and one of the great nations on this earth today. If the world owes the United States of America a debt of gratitude, it certainly owes one to Great Britain which stood alone in the face of that unparalleled "furor Teutonicus." If it had not, I should not like to say how the world would be living now, precarious as are our present conditions. So had I been writing Colonel Burne's essay, I freely admit that I would very probably have been even more patriotic than Colonel Burne. In the fine chapter on "Atlanta" General Hood is spoken of as "coming of an old Devonshire family." I should probably have claimed every able Civil War general with an Anglo-Saxon name as a member of some British family! But, be that as it may, it does seem that I can detect just a slight bit of pride in that tight little isle, "Hitler tried it, Napoleon tried it, Caesar tried it." Anyway a pride that is honest, not boastful and best of all, well-founded.

But I must close now with the same words with which Colonel Burne began: "Caesar, having no intention of wintering in Britain, considered he had done enough and need go no further . . . Everything which had been aimed at had been gained . . . The expedition to Britain had produced all the effects which Caesar had expected from it."

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(For bibliography, see page 348)



## Trends and Events

Edited by Dorrance S. White

### LATIN AND COURSES IN EDUCATION

IS THE TREND starting back toward fewer hours in Education courses for the Liberal Arts student majoring in the Classics? The editor of *The Des Moines Register* (Feb. 29, '52) thinks so, and from his concluding paragraph we judge that he hopes so. Here are his opening words:

Well, teachers and education officials, there's a new war on down in Arkansas. That state has been offered a chance to experiment in teacher training, with the help of the Ford Foundation. The plan calls for a suspension of undergraduate education course requirements for teachers, and concentration instead on Liberal Arts courses—in short, general knowledge instead of narrow specialization.

And the exciting feature of the movement is that the chief advocate of the Foundation plan in Arkansas is Dean Henry H. Kronenberg of the University's College of Education, who is reported to hold the opinion that there is a lot of "rubbish" in the required education courses for teachers.

Whatever the merits of the movement in the minds of Education faculty members generally (who, like Latin teachers, have vested interests in keeping their enrollments as high as possible) it looks as if college classics departments might soon expect to keep Latin majors long enough so that they will be trained adequately for teaching the subject.

In contrast, we recall a middle-aged teacher's perplexity when she asked our judgment on whether to take a Latin teacher's course or a course in second-year Latin, which she had never studied and which she was expected to teach the next semester! She must get credit on some education course, but she would really like to know something about what she had been so brutally consigned to teach!

There may be a more emphatic trend in *desire* toward lessening the number of hours in education courses, but the actual accomplishment is something else again. In some states, as in Iowa, the number of hours is established by legislative fiat. The removal or modification of that fiat takes time. But it ought to be clear to the veriest tyro in education that anybody who expects to be graduated with a degree in plumbing, carpentry, book-keeping, radio servicing, or Classics should know more than just a little about the use of a pipe-wrench and blow-torch, electric drills and augers, adding-machines, tube-testing, and the function of inflections. No one doubts the value of adequate courses in education. But it has been demonstrated thousands of times in the history of education that the person who knows his subject well and the science of teaching it imperfectly has every advantage over the person for whom the reverse is true.

D. S. W.



## “Dancing Herds of Animals”

IN A FRAGMENT of a dithyramb by Pindar, preserved in damaged form among the Oxyrhynchus papyri (Loeb ed., p. 560), we find these words: “Lightly comes the lonely-roaming Artemis, who has yoked in Bacchic revel-dances the race of fierce lions for Bromius; and he is delighted, too, by dancing herds of animals.” The same author, in the Tenth Pythian Ode, lines 34–36, describing the festal gatherings of the Hyperboreans (whom we might call super-Greeks), says that Apollo “laughs to see the spirited prancing of monsters walking upright.”

A few years ago<sup>1</sup> I demonstrated (to my own satisfaction, at least!) that both of these passages refer ultimately to something real—to very old animal dances, performed in the rituals of deities of animal fertility, by human beings wearing masks or skins; in other words, that they are highly poetized records of animal mummery in the worship of a divinity who is a Master or Mistress of Animals.

But Pindar is not the only one of the great writers of Greek literature to refer in delicate imagery to such rituals. We may recall, for instance, certain passages in the *Odyssey* which concern Circe (10.212–219; 239–240). Around Circe’s dwelling, says the poet, are wolves, lions, and swine who had once been men; they “wag their long tails,” and are kept under Circe’s control with a magic wand and with “sweet song” (10.221, 254, 293, 388–390). Representations in art—e.g., on a kantharos in the Metropolitan Museum, a kylix in Boston, a manuscript in the Vatican,<sup>2</sup> etc.—show the comrades of Odysseus, victims of Circe’s art, with the heads of horses, asses, swine, stags, lions, and even a goose. There can be no doubt that Circe was at one time a lesser deity of the “Mistress of Animals” type; in one passage of the *Odyssey* (10.549) she is called *potnia Kirke*—a title suggestive, at least, of *potnia thērôn*. And her attendant “animals” with human bodies would have been, originally, worshippers wearing animal masks, and moving rhythmically to music.

In the *Alkestis* of Euripides there is a choral ode of great interest (575–585). The chorus sing of how in former days Apollo sojourned with Admetus, served as a shepherd, and at pastoral festivals evoked beautiful strains from the *syrinx* and the *kithara*. “And in joy at thy songs,” they continue, addressing Apollo, “even spotted lynxes herded with the flocks; and the blood-flecked troop of lions came stepping, leaving the dell of Othrys. And around thy lyre, Phoebus, danced (*choreuse*) the dapple-skinned fawn, coming from over against the tall-tressed pines—danced with light ankle, rejoicing in thy merry song.” Here, again, it is entirely possible that we have not merely figurative language, but actually a reminiscence of animal dances in honor of Apollo.

The legend of Orpheus is very significant in this connection. Euripides (*Bacch.* 561–4), Simonides (frag. 16 Smyth, 51 Loeb), Apollonius of Rhodes (1.569–79), Pausanias (9.30.3–4), Theodoretus (3.767), Philostratus the Younger (6), and Callistratus (7), among others, show us Orpheus playing heavenly music on his lyre and followed by wild animals, birds, and even fishes in the rivers beside him. It is known that animal mummery, with the participants wearing animal skins, was common in ancient Thrace. It is an arresting thought that the legend of the Thracian Orpheus may be a poetic record of this mummery, with the masked and skin-clad performers following a musician. We may recall that Vergil (*Georg.* 4. 453) speaks of Orpheus as a *numen*, a divinity. Orpheus would seem to have been originally a Thracian lyre-playing deity, a Master of Animals, even as was Apollo among the Greeks. Like Apollo, he is the antithesis and adversary of Death (cf. the prologue to Euripides’ *Alkestis*)—the personification of life and music.

In all the lands around the Mediterranean there is archaeological and other evidence from earliest times of ritualistic animal dances or mummery. Greece, notwithstanding the heights to which her culture attained, was no

exception to this rule. In fact, beneath much that is ideally beautiful in the literature and religion of the Great Age in Greece lies, deeply imbedded, this same prehistoric animal mummery; and much of her dancing is, in the last analysis, an imitation of animals.

Primitive man is always very conscious of animals, and very observant of their actions. They are of vital importance to him. They can furnish him with food and clothing—or they can wound and kill him. Some of them are terrifying or uncanny to him; others delight and amuse him. Some he associates with his gods in one way or another—either as fitting sacrifices to them, or as their favored animals, to be kept sacred and safe from harm. Some he actually worships as gods in their own right or as temporary incarnations of gods. Sometimes he believes that his clan is descended from an animal; in this case he takes his name from the sacred animal, or wears skins or representations of the totem animal, and honors it with mimetic dances.

The Greeks, like other ancient peoples, were aware that some animals do actually dance. Birds of all sorts dance in both solo and group formation, in courtship, to attract prey, and sometimes apparently for their own amusement. Apes, elephants, the cat-animals, kangaroos, dolphins, bees, bears, and other animals dance in a wild state. Accordingly, it would be natural for the early Greek to imitate the actual dance of an animal, and then, by an easy transition, to imitate further movements of that and other animals in a dance of his own.

Among primitive peoples animal dances are undertaken for a variety of purposes, all of them more or less vital to the community. Some of these purposes are: to honor a totem or animal ancestor; to appease a theriomorphic deity; to secure communion with an animal god; to worship a sacred animal; to invoke or win the support of a deity to whom the animal in question is sacred. Primitive man may seek by an animal dance to lay the ghost of an animal which he has slain, so that it may not haunt him. On the other hand, he may perform an animal dance to secure, by sym-

pathetic magic, success in hunting. Or he may dance to induce fertility in the animal imitated, whether it be a domestic animal or an animal hunted for food; or to induce fertility in man, by the imitation of a fertile animal. He may dance to avert possible injury or death which might be caused by the animal. (This is particularly true of snake dances.) He may perform a dance to secure to himself some characteristic of the animal imitated (a lion dance, for example, that he may be strong and brave). He may dance in imitation of an animal which he thinks has power to avert the "evil eye." He may dance to bring about a change in the weather, which certain animals are believed to control. He may perform an animal dance, wearing a mask, to disguise rough revelry in which he and his companions utter coarse jests at the expense of others in the community. Or he may perform an animal dance purely for fun.

It is clear that by their very nature some animal dances are solemn and ritualistic, while others are in the nature of riotous buffoonery (cf. our own word *horseplay*). Roistering animal mummeries develop spontaneously among most peoples early in their history. They amuse the community and supposedly the gods as well. Two forms of animal dance are recognizable, then, in primitive societies—the serious and the comic. They are distinguished carefully, and unseemly mirth is excluded from the more solemn type.

Usually, as a people moves from savagery into civilization, the original significance of the solemn animal dances is forgotten, and the dances have a tendency to be burlesqued and to become merely entertainment for the community. One notable exception to this general rule is to be seen in mystery cults. If the ritualistic animal dance is protected by the secrecy, mystic atmosphere, and rigorous prescription of detail to be found in such cults, it can survive unchanged for centuries.

Frequently animal dances of the serious type are characterized by the phenomenon known as "possession." In other words, as the dancer performs he suddenly becomes

slightly crazed, and actually believes he is the animal which he is imitating. His eyes roll wildly, he utters animal cries, he breaks away from the circle of dancers, and sometimes he even crawls on all fours. His companions look upon him with reverence; for the sacred animal, or the god to whom the animal is sacred, is believed to be "within him." If he speaks, his incoherent words are listened to with awe and respect, for it is thought that a god is prophesying through his lips. If he repeatedly enters this state of "possession," he is looked upon as hallowed and is set apart as prophet or priest.

The mask plays a large part in the animal dance; however, many animal dances are performed without masks. Sometimes the skin of a real animal is used instead of a mask; it is usually worn upon the head and down over the back. An animal's skin worn by a human being in this manner is always believed to possess strong magical properties. It is frequently used by worshippers who wish to secure to themselves some of the powers of the animal. When it appears in art it is almost always ritually significant.

Many scholars today, following Evans and Cook, believe that there were animal dances in Greece and Crete in Minoan-Mycenaean times. On Minoan and Mycenaean rings and other art objects there are frequently depicted creatures which are sometimes called "daemons." They look like strange animals, walking erect and wearing the skins of other animals over their heads and upon their backs. Frequently the skin so worn ends in a long tail. Many of these composite figures have human hands and feet, and all of them wear girdles, which seem to hold the skin which is worn upon the back. These facts have led several distinguished writers to believe that some at least of these figures are really masked dancers. Their association with religious ritual seems certain. They would seem to be votaries, performing in a processional dance, perhaps in connection with the ceremonial tending of a sacred tree. Similar figures are to be found in Assyrian and Babylonian art. Again, moulds for seals have

been found, on many of which appears a bird-headed, winged woman, apparently engaged in a vigorous dance step. Other moulds show what appear to be bird-masks. It is probable that these representations portray a real cult dance, performed in hood-like masks and elaborately "winged" costumes.

The best evidence for animal dances in the Geometric period comes from the island of Cyprus. Terracotta figurines found there portray a masked dancer pulling a bull-mask from his head; a dancer wearing a bear-mask; one removing a stag-mask (his own hair and right ear showing beneath it); a dancer in a shaggy garment, who has just taken off a horned animal mask of some kind and holds it in his left hand. Other terracottas of the same period are replicas of bull-masks or of fox-masks. All of the figurines were found in shrines and temples.<sup>3</sup>

The Greeks of the classical period had animal dances of all the types which we have mentioned. They had serious animal dances, comical animal dances, animal dances in mystery cults; they had dances with animal masks, animal dances without masks, dances with animal skins or imitations of them. They had complete animal dances, and animal figures in other dances—some of which became conventionalized with the passage of time and ceased to be recognized as of animal origin.

Among the Greeks ritualistic animal mummery takes two forms—viz., one in which all the participants portray the same type of animal, and another, a sort of rout, in which various animals are imitated by the several dancers. An outstanding portrayal of the latter type is the procession depicted on the piece of marble drapery found in the shrine of Despoina at Lycosura.<sup>4</sup> This carving, although of Hellenistic date, seems to be a faithful reproduction of actual embroidered drapery offered to Despoina from primitive times, and to portray very old cult practices. On the relief are eleven dancing women, moving with rapid step, some carrying lyres and double flutes, and each one wearing an animal mask. The animals represented include

the pig, ram, donkey, fox, horse, bear, and, perhaps, a dog, a wolf, and a lioness. Despoina of course is a Mistress of Animals, having close connections with Artemis. Another example of the animal rout may be found in the late mystery cult of Mithras. Here, according to Porphyry,<sup>5</sup> the doctrine of the transmigration of souls was, as it were, dramatized by means of animal disguises and dances. Certain of the votaries were called "Lions" or "Lionesses," others "Ravens," "Eagles," "Hawks," and "Griffins." The mystery rites themselves were sometimes called the "lion-rites"—*ta leontika*. Evidently in the rituals there was much roaring, twittering, flapping of wings, and lumbering about, as the dignified members of the cult went through their mimetic portrayal of the sacred animals in sober earnest.

Athenian drama may have preserved in classical times a poetized relic of the "mixed" type of animal mummery in honor of Dionysus, in the chorus of such plays as the *Thêria* of Crates (which had a chorus of animals of varying species), even as it preserved a memory at least of the other type of mummery in the satyr plays, and in such comedies as the *Swine* of Cephisodorus, the *Bees* of Diocles, and the *Birds* of Aristophanes and of Magnes.

Very old among the Greek animal dances are those in which the dancers portray the flight, descent, walk, and other actions of birds. Birds were sacred to several of the Greek divinities—particularly goddesses who were, in part at least, adaptations of the Great Goddess of the Cretans; presumably bird dances in their honor were performed to invoke the deities.

At Dodona, the seat of one of the oldest oracles in Greece, prophecies were said to have been uttered by three priestesses called Peleïades, or "Doves." Philostratus (*Imag.* 2.33) describes a dance of priestesses at Dodona, around a golden dove on a sacred tree. In a much discussed and not too well preserved fragment of the seventh-century poet Alcman (frag. 23 Bergk) Spartan maidens, engaged in a choral song and dance at the festival of the Thosteria, in honor of the

goddess Orthia, apparently speak of some of their number as Peleïades, "Doves." Orthia, a goddess especially honored in southern Greece, was a very ancient divinity of fertility, fused in classical times with Artemis; her connection with the great Cretan goddess is obvious. A scrutiny of the rest of the fragmentary poem gives us further information on the dance. It was performed by maidens, and the goddess herself, as we know, was called "the Maiden"—Parthenos. During the dance the singers and dancers uttered cries. With the dance went a presentation of a robe to the goddess. The singers and dancers seem to have formed separate groups. The meter attests a swift tempo, which would fit in well with a "flying" dance. The poem is written in strophes, and suggests the use of changing and recurring dance motifs—perhaps a procession, interrupted at regular intervals by a circle formation. There is a hint of competitive dancing. The dance was apparently performed at night, and was accordingly a chthonic ceremony. Many editors of Alcman's poem think that some of the dancers mentioned in it were costumed as doves; another fragment of the same poet (frag. 19 Edmonds) mentions somebody as being "garbed in the skins of beasts."

On the island of Corcyra, at the site of a shrine of Artemis as Mistress of Animals, there was found a large deposit of terracotta statuettes of the divinity, all of the archaic period.<sup>6</sup> Many of the figures show the goddess holding a dove. Sometimes a dancing votary or priestess is portrayed in relief on the lower part of the garment of the goddess—on a small scale, so that the human figure may be differentiated from that of her divine mistress. With arms up and out from the shoulders, and with head turned in the strong movement of her ritual dance, the young woman moves swiftly, apparently around the goddess. The feeling of motion and of speed is unmistakable; and the position of the arms is definitely suggestive of the wings of a bird.

There is a link between the worship of the primitive Artemis, fertility and animal goddess, and Dionysus, fertility and wine god.

In Greek representations of Dionysiac dances, women dancers often appear with arms outspread in a winglike manner, and with one or both hands covered by, or twisted into, the garment. This "wing-sleeved dancer," indeed, is one of the most characteristic features of the Dionysiac dance, puzzling as that fact may seem. The pose may reflect a ritualistic covering of the hands; or it may be a reminder that the Dionysiac dances often took place outdoors in winter. There is a possibility, however, that it may rather attest a borrowing by Dionysiac priestesses of a bird dance formerly a part of the worship of Artemis. Some of the more important of the Dionysiac dances took place near Delphi; and, by an odd coincidence, Euripides speaks of the sacred birds at Delphi as a "chorus of doves" (*Ion* 1197). The same author in three passages (*Bacch.* 748, 957-8, 1090-1) likens women Dionysiac dancers to doves or to birds in general.

There is clear evidence for a cock dance in Greece. It was evidently very old even in the fifth century, when we have mention of it in the *Wasps* of Aristophanes (1479, 1490). It had been used in the drama by Phrynichus, and apparently by the half-legendary Thespis as well. One form of it seems to be portrayed on a vase in the British Museum.<sup>7</sup> It seems to have been strongly mimetic; also, we are informed (*Wasps* 1490) that in it a crouching *schema*, or figure, was characteristic.

On the island of Rhodes there was featured annually, in the fall, the famous Rhodian swallow procession. The participants, apparently disguised as birds, went from house to house, singing, demanding food, and threatening to steal it if it were not given them freely (*Athenaeus* 8.360b). The whole ritual reminds us of the antics of our own small Hallowe'en maskers, going from door to door seeking "treats."

There are several different owl dances among the Greeks, and at least one "dance of the cuckoo."<sup>8</sup> Also, there was a dance figure called the *podismos*,<sup>9</sup> which seems to have been originally a hop, with both feet held closely together, in imitation of the hopping of a bird. This is one of the dance figures in

which the animal origin had been completely forgotten by the classical period.

As old as bird dances, and certainly as important, are snake dances of various sorts. It is highly probable that the Minoans had a winding maze dance in which the line of dancers represented the crawling of a huge serpent—as in our own modern "snake dances" and rhumba lines, and as in the Chinese dragon dance at the New Year. Recently I have shown that the famous *geranos* dance of Delos was apparently a winding dance of this same type.<sup>10</sup> Also, the Greeks of the Geometric period performed, at funeral pyres and tombs, encircling dances which retained the serpentine choreography of very primitive dances.

The *geranos* dance continued to be performed all through the classical period. It remained a solemn nocturnal ritual, executed at festivals in the flickering light of torches, lamps, and bonfires. Sometimes a group of the *geranos* dancers carried a long, snake-like rope. Later these ropes seem to have, on occasion, been replaced with garlands. The *geranos* type of dance seems to have had a tremendous influence on other dances of the Greeks. It continued down through the Roman, mediaeval, and Renaissance periods, and is to be seen in all parts of Greece even to this day.

More spectacular than snake-line dances are snake-handling dances. These terrible rituals are attested for Minoan Crete. We are told repeatedly in Greek literature that similar dances were a feature of the worship of the Thraco-Phrygian fertility and vegetation deity, Dionysus, both before and after he was brought into Greece. The tradition persists that the introduction of the cult was opposed determinedly by many Greek rulers, but that it spread with devastating speed over all the Greek lands. Women in particular fell under the spell of the sensational new ritual. Drugged with liquor and narcotics, they danced wildly over mountain-tops in the dead of night, brandishing their *thyrsi*, and allowing living snakes to crawl around their arms or necks and to lick their cheeks. On occasion they tore the snakes to pieces. As time

went on, the Dionysiac rituals were considerably toned down; but others of the same type came in from the East and the Northeast. In the fourth century, Demosthenes (*Crown* 260) speaks of his rival Aeschines, who with his mother participated in a dance in honor of Rhea-Cybele, rushing through the streets, shrieking and "squeezing big-cheeked snakes." In many mystery cults initiates seem to have been compelled to carry live snakes in their hands. As late as the third century after Christ, we have a record of some sort of "snake mysteries" in honor of Athena, on the Acropolis at Athens. St. Cyprian tells<sup>11</sup> how, at the age of ten, he took part in these rites. They must have consisted of snake-handling dances. Athena as we know, was in one of her aspects originally a snake, and she is sometimes addressed as a snake in the Orphic Hymns.

Other types of snake dance which the Greeks may have had are those in which snakes made of dough were carried in procession; those in which barley meal was placed on the floor in the form of a snake, and the dancer danced around it; and those in which the dancer lay on the ground and writhed in serpent fashion.

The most common of the mimetic snake dances and figures is one in which the dancer twists or wriggles the body, particularly the hips, in imitation of the writhing of a snake; and this the Greeks most certainly had from early times. It is a type of movement which easily develops into lascivious contortions. It is the forerunner of all the *danses du ventre* of modern times, and of the jerking motifs so characteristic of the rumba. We may note even the slang term, "snake-hips."

The Greeks had several words for dances and figures of this sort: *apokimos*, *makter*, *maktrismos*, *aposeisis*, *lygizein*, *lygismos* (writhing, wriggling), *rhiknousthai*, *diarrhiknousthai*, *gastrizesthai*. The three latter terms are always cited as distinctive figures of the *kordax*, the dance of comedy. It is entirely possible that the *kordax* was originally actually a snake dance.<sup>12</sup> It is noteworthy that the related word *kordylos* designates a type of

water-lizard. It is interesting also that Pausanias tells us (6.22.1) that at a shrine in Elis Artemis was surnamed *Kordaka*, and that in her honor the *kordax* was performed. Here again we have a linking of Artemis and Dionysus as divinities of animal fertility.

There is yet another type of snake dance which is found in Greece. Down to the Greco-Roman period, the slaying of the Python by Apollo was commemorated at Delphi with a festival, the *Stepterion*, at which there was a portrayal of the combat between the god and the serpent in mimetic dance (Plutarch, *Graec. Quaest.* 12; *De defect. orac.* 417f and schol. ad loc.; Strabo 9.3.10; Pollux 4.84). Parallels are found in the ritual dramas of the ancient Near East in honor of various serpent-slaying divinities.

We have incontestable literary evidence that in Athens, even in the fifth century, there were very old bear dances in honor of Artemis Brauronia (Aristophanes, *Lys.* 645 and schol.; Euripides, frag. 767 Nauck). This bear mummery was performed by maidens between the ages of five and ten years, wearing shaggy yellow costumes suggestive of bears' hides. The maidens were actually called "bears," as Artemis herself was called both a maiden and a bear. In Arcadia, Artemis was believed to have changed Callisto and her son Arcas into bears; such a legend of transformation into an animal is almost always evidence of a previous totemistic or animal cult. In cults of this nature there are almost invariably mimetic animal dances. We have noted that one of the Cyprus terracotta figurines wears a bear-mask. An interesting lead figure from the sanctuary of Artemis in Sparta shows a female dancer wearing a bear-mask; one of the "dancing beasts" on the Lycosura drapery is a woman with a bear-mask; and in Constantinople there is a limestone relief showing a bear-masked dancer.

In like manner, there is evidence for deer or stag mummery. We have noted the figures with stags' masks found on Cyprus. Also, among the scholia on Theocritus there is a lengthy presentation of various theories of the origin of pastoral poetry; and the theory



which is designated the "true account" derives bucolic verse from a rustic *komos* at Syracuse in honor of Artemis Lyaia. In this masque, singers and dancers wearing "stags' horns on their heads" carried skins of wine and huge loaves of bread stamped with the figures of animals of various sorts, and took part in some form of contest (apparently in singing and dancing), the winner in which "took the bread of the loser." Stag or deer mummery of this general type survived in New Year's processions, carnivals, and revels in Western Europe down to a late date. Again we note a similarity between the cult of Artemis and that of Dionysus. It is quite clear that a fawn skin, *nebris*, or a conventionalized representation of one, was frequently worn by dancers, both men and women, in rituals of Dionysus. Dionysiac dancers are sometimes called "fawns;" and the verb *nebrizein*, "to play the fawn," becomes a technical term for participation in the mysteries of Dionysus.

Fox mummery also was important in the cult of Dionysus, particularly in Thrace. Women who participated in the Bacchic dances there were called foxes (*bassarai*), wore garments of fox-skins, and sometimes were tattooed with the representation of a fox. Also, in the lists of specific names of Greek dances which have come down to us is one called "the fox" or "the foxes" (Hesychius, s.v. *alôpêx*). On the famous Bacchic inscription in the Metropolitan Museum, dating from the second century of the Christian era, certain high-ranking members of a Dionysiac thiasos are called officially "Chief Foxes"—*archibassaroi*.

In all of Europe goat mummery was associated with deities of animal fertility from early times; there is, in fact, evidence of goat dances in Southern Europe as early as the Palaeolithic Age on a carved horn. In Crete goat mummery may have been associated with the son-consort of the Great Goddess. The satyrs of the Dionysiac cult may have been suggested by this very primitive goat mummery; and the importance of the satyr in the development of Greek drama does not need to be pointed out to the readers of THE

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Whether the legend of the Minotaur of Crete was actually inspired by the practice of bull mummery or not, certainly the bull and the cow were of tremendous ritualistic importance in Greek lands from prehistoric times to the Hellenistic period; and such mummery would be entirely within the realm of probability. Gems and sealstones of the Minoan-Mycenaean period apparently portray bull dances. A recently discovered ring from a Mycenaean tomb in Athens shows a bull-headed man leading two women by means of cords. In Spain there was found an odd representation on a vase—two men dancing, with bulls' horns on their hands and bulls' hoofs on their feet. A fine black-figured hydria in the British Museum shows three spirited dancers wearing bull-masks, hoof-like coverings on their hands, and bulls' tails. Zeus, Poseidon, and Dionysus are sometimes spoken of as sacred bulls; and in the ritual of Dionysus there are officials known as "Ox-tenders"—*boukoloi*. In early times the priestesses of Hera at the Argive Heraeum were called "Cows," and in their rites wore horns. And we do not forget that Hera was really "cow-faced"—*boopis*.

There is sure evidence in Greek literature and art for lion mummery, usually in cults of goddesses of fertility, from the Minoan-Mycenaean age down through the classical period to the Hellenistic Age.<sup>13</sup> We may recall the savage lion, roaring and twisting its neck, which a Greek poet says (*Anth. Pal.* 6.218) had "taught itself the dance of Rhea."

Other animals which we know were imitated by the Greeks in dances or mummery are pigs; fish; wolves; horses (particularly in the cult of Dionysus and that of Demeter of Phigaleia); colts (the name "colts" is given technically to priestesses of Demeter and Persephone, to Spartan maidens taking part in the procession in honor of the Leucippidae, and to women dancers in the rites of Dionysus); donkeys; rams (particularly in the cult of Despoina); even ants, wasps, and bees (priestesses of Demeter, Persephone, Apollo, Artemis, and Cybele were called *Melissai*,

"Bees," or even "Holy Bees," and the same name was applied to women celebrating the mysteries of Demeter; also, the chief priest of Artemis at Ephesus was called a bee.) Fantastic composite creatures, such as griffins, sphinxes, "horse-roosters," "goat-stags," etc., seem also to have been portrayed.

In Pollux (4.103) and Athenaeus (14.629f) there is mention of a dance called the *morphasmos*. This, originally a dance in which the performer portrayed many concepts one after the other, became an "imitation of all sorts of animals."<sup>14</sup> In its early form the dance seems to have been accompanied by ecstasy and spiritual "possession," during which the dancer was believed able to prophesy; by the time of Pollux and Athenaeus it had become a burlesque, performed by professional entertainers and buffoons to amuse their patrons.

As the power of the Christian church grew in the Roman empire, pagan dances declined or were transmuted into folk dances. Professional dancers withdrew from the cities to the country districts; and their successors ultimately became the strolling entertainers of the Middle Ages. It is an interesting fact that animal masks were common among mummers throughout the whole of the Middle Ages. They were assuredly a heritage from antiquity.

As a matter of fact, animal dances and mummeries have never died out. Traces of them are to be found in most parts of the civilized world today—in folk dances, ball-room dances, children's games, in carnivals and masquerades, in Hallowe'en revelry. In burlesque form, they still have a place in the modern theater and circus and, above all, in motion picture "cartoons." But the great differences between our mummery and that of the Greek of the classical period lies in the fact that even at the time of his greatest achievement in literature, philosophy, and art, animal mummery played a large part in the serious practice of his religion.

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## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Lillian B. Lawler, "Pindar and Some Animal Dances," CP 41, 155-159.

<sup>2</sup> Ernst Buschor, *Greek Vase Painting* (London, 1921), Plate L, Fig. 92, facing page 100; Paul Wolters, "Kirke," *Ath. Mith.* 55, 1930, 209-236; G. Körte, "Vasenbilder mit dem Abenteuer des Odysseus bei Kirke," *Arch. Zeit.* 34, 1876, 189-191, Plates 14 and 15; S. Reinach, *Répertoire des Vases Peints* (Paris, 1922), I, p. 94, Fig. 3, and p. 142, Fig. 2.

<sup>3</sup> John L. Myres, *Handbook of the Cesnola Collection of Antiquities from Cyprus* (New York, 1914), Nos. 1029-1031, 2046, 2071-2075, 2077.

<sup>4</sup> Guy Dickens, "Damophon of Messene," BSA 13 (1906-7), 392-395 and Plate 14; Charles Normand, *Lycosure—second livre du corpus des monuments grecs* (Paris, n.d.), 26-28 and Plate 11.

<sup>5</sup> *De abstin.* 4.16; cf. Ps.-Augustinus, *Quaest. Vet. et Novi Test.* 114.

<sup>6</sup> Henri Lechat, "Terres cuites de Corcyre," BCH 15 (1891) 69-72 and Plate 7, No. 2.

<sup>7</sup> Roy C. Flickinger, *The Greek Theater and Its Drama* (Chicago, 1936), Fig. 12, facing p. 31, and Fig. 13, facing p. 38.

<sup>8</sup> Lillian B. Lawler, "The Dance of the Owl," TAPA 70 (1939), 482-502; "Periekokkasa," AJP 72 (1951), 300-307.

<sup>9</sup> Pollux 4.99; cf. Lillian B. Lawler, "Diple, Dipodia, Dipodismos in the Greek Dance," TAPA 76 (1945), 59-73.

<sup>10</sup> Lillian B. Lawler, "The Geranos Dance," TAPA 77 (1946), 112-130.

<sup>11</sup> *Confess.* 1; cf. Eudocia, *De S. Cyprian.* 2.20-21.

<sup>12</sup> I expect to treat of this subject more fully at a later time.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Lillian B. Lawler, "A Lion among Ladies," TAPA 78 (1947), 88-98.

<sup>14</sup> Lillian B. Lawler, "Proteus is a Dancer," CW 36 (1943), 116-117.

## NOTES ON STYLE

THE PRESENT editorial staff has pretty well exhausted the great backlog of inherited manuscripts except for a group of articles which contain difficulties of a nature to delay publication. THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL, therefore, is ready to attempt to follow more closely than heretofore the quasi-uniform "style sheet" now employed by most other American classical periodicals.

Contributors should hereafter, accordingly, conform as closely as possible to the sheet as outlined in "Notes for Contributors," AJA 54 (1950) 268-272, offprints of which have received wide circulation. "The MLA Style Sheet," compiled by William Riley Parker, PMLA 66 (1951) 3-31 and H. M. Silver's "Putting it on Paper"



(a discussion of the preparation of scholarly manuscripts for the press), *PMLA* 65 (1950) 9-20, can also be consulted with profit.

The goal sought is a system offering a reasonable and basic uniformity among periodicals so that contributors need not be troubled constantly by precisely which technique of citation, etc., should be employed. At the same time the system employed should help to keep articles brief and economical to print without proving an encumbrance upon the energies of the contributor or reader through excessive, hence obscure, conciseness. Clarity at all times has the right of eminent domain.

But whatever the system employed by a contributor in preparing his copy, if the manuscript submitted follows a system which is, first of all, clear and, secondly, consistent with itself, that manuscript (provided it conforms physically to the specifications laid down *infra*) will probably prove acceptable from the point of view of style.

Few manuscripts have ever been returned for revision by the present editors although both have consumed much valuable time in scissors and paste work to render some mechanically fit for publication. (The Review Editor, for example, had recently to retype more than half a review which the reviewer had confounded so badly with longhand insertions that any type-setter except a scholar-specialist would have pried it all.) The past leniency will not continue, for editors with full class loads, research and family responsibilities, and no secretarial help from any source whatsoever, ought not to be asked to spend part of their too few hours for sleeping (or living as mortals) in making fair copy for contributors.

To increase the efficiency of this office manuscripts submitted should present fair copy and conform to the following principles specifically:

1. All copy (including quotations, verse passages, headings of reviews, and footnotes) should be typed double-spaced (or triple-spaced) on 8½" by 11" paper. Wide margins (preferably an inch and a half) should be left at top, bottom, and both sides. To aid in estimating the length of articles, margin settings should remain constant throughout the paper. Please omit all indications of type-face, except that words to be italicized should be underscored once and in the headings of reviews the names of authors and editors may be typed in capitals.

2. The heavy use of footnotes is generally to be avoided. Short references should be incorporated parenthetically in the main text. Footnotes are to be numbered consecutively and all

are to be assembled (typed double- or triple-spaced) at the end of the article. (Any articles with footnotes planted in the text or placed at the bottom of pages of the text will be returned to the author for retyping; so also footnotes which are single-spaced.)

3. Pages should be numbered consecutively in the fair copy submitted for publication. While brief corrections or insertions may be typed or written carefully above the line concerned, if lengthy insertions or corrections are necessary, the pages involved should be retyped to provide fair copy even though some short pages may result.

4. For references to periodicals the abbreviations listed in *AJA* 54 (1950) 269-272 are preferred, but any recognizable and consistent system will be acceptable (including abbreviations listed in recent volumes of *L'Année Philologique*). For the works and names of ancient authors, the abbreviations presented in the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (Oxford, 1949), pp. ix-xix, are preferred. Names not listed there may be abbreviated in similar fashion. But again any logical and consistent set of abbreviations will normally be acceptable.

5. Authors of articles and reviews should type their names below the end of the main text (but before the footnotes which should generally appear on a separate page or pages), ending flush with the right margin. The institutional or residential address should be typed one line below, the name, beginning flush with the left margin. (Contributors should also type their names and the address [or addresses with dates] to which they will want proof and other correspondence forwarded at the top of the first page of their articles.)

6. Headings for reviews should follow the pattern normally employed in recent sections of "The Review Cupboard" (cf. also *CW* and *CP*). The "hanging indentation" should be used. The essential data (with preferred punctuation) are: Title: subtitle (if any, both italicized). Author or editor (name typed in capitals). (Serial title [italicized] and number, in parentheses.) Place: Publisher, year. Pages (with commas as dividers); plates, charts. Price (when known).

7. In the interest of safety (and to facilitate correspondence about details) contributors should keep a carbon copy of their articles or reviews. From American contributors of unsolicited articles and reviews, return postage (in the form of loose stamps) is appreciated.

G. S.

## THE "PSYCHOLOGY" OF TACITUS

AS AN UNDERGRADUATE in the University of Toronto five decades ago and just a little more, I heard in my upper-division years that Tacitus had a "psychological" outlook on history and that his "psychology" was one of his most striking features. This had some interest for me because I had just completed a full year of what then passed for psychology; apparently Tacitus and I shared, no matter in what differing degrees of magnitude, the knowledge of a certain subject in common; we were like an older and a younger member of the same club. And, as a matter of fact, there was then some reason in speaking of his "psychologic" approach, because the psychology of my college course in 1896-1897 was a matter of well-organized words setting out a well-conceived scheme of human qualities and faculties singly and in their interrelations, out of which the average human being emerged as a not too discreditable sort of creature almost approaching in one phase of his self something like rationality—sometimes for good, sometimes for bad, but at all events explainably, so far as words could do it. I think I could have taken the textbook on psychology and fitted it satisfactorily on the text of the *Annals*, and I suppose I really did just that very thing unconsciously anyway. And of course later on, having become a teacher myself, I continued to talk to classes about the "psychology" of Tacitus, meaning thereby that psychology which was spun out of a conceptual something *ab interiore in exterior*, after the fashion of a spider's web.

Now this must have begun to puzzle my students because psychology was changing its academic character fast without my really knowing of it, and undergraduates were now hearing of experimental work in psychology and were even in some cases performing some experiments themselves. And when the rats gnawed their way in and began to push open little doors at the sound of a bell to get food cunningly stowed away on the other side of those doors, I really was awakened up myself.

The genteel psychology of my young manhood, which really in its propagation was like a church service of a very quiet but very assured type, was altering, with the cavortings of those rats, into what conservatives called an academic sideshow. This kind of psychology I was quite sure Tacitus did not possess; so I struggled back to *terra firma* in my Tacitus course on the safer but much less up to date phrase "delineation of character." The "psychological approach" of which I was now hearing was an approach like that of a well-behaved rat to the N.E. door of his little cubicle when a bell of middle-C value sounded, because then and only then could he secure his modest meal on the other side; and though I have differed from Tacitus over quite a number of things, I did not wish any of my young charges to think of him as approaching any of his problems of personality in rat-fashion, not even in white-rat fashion.

THE WORD "psychology" never appears in literary Greek, so far as I know, nor as a word adopted into Latin for use in a Latin context until the middle of the sixteenth century in Germany. The first occurrence in English according to the O.E.D. is dated 1693 in a translation made from a French physiological dictionary, and there it is something rather apart, since it "treats of the soul." It turns up again in the fourth volume of the *British Medical Journal* (1800) at p. 187. The second half of the nineteenth century was wearing well on its way before psychology was recognized academically, having sneaked in through an accidentally left open window of the college rooms set apart for philosophy. But what strides since! I find, for example, in the *Literary Supplement of the Times* (London) for August 24, 1951 (p. xxxii, col. 1) this statement well worth pondering:

At the present time, students of psychology are confronted with what Professor Gilbert Ryle has not unjustly called "a partly fortuitous federation of inquiries and techniques," broadly directed to the analysis of behaviour. This federation embraces experimental methods close to those of the physiologist, statistic techniques with all their present day refinement, methods of clinical and social inquiry, and—not least—a theoretical

fertility without which all fact-finding disciplines are liable to verge on the sterile. (There you have an up to date description of the methodology of modern psychology, the aim of which, you will notice, is not to enumerate magisterially things as definitely known about the functioning of the human mind and will, but to become fact-finding as far as one can in the matter of ascertaining inductively how mind and will work. The point is strongly emphasized again in the concluding paragraph of the same article): If psychology is not yet a science, at least it is no longer an amateur affair of speculation and anecdote. It is slowly taking its place as a self-confident discipline within the broad framework of the biological and social sciences.

Teachers of literature, then, must remember that such is the psychological approach that their students in the modern university are making in the courses given in psychology *pari passu* with the courses offered in classics for those who elect the latter. Obviously, in view of the greatly changed and indeed constantly changing character of psychology, we must not fall into the error of employing in our classical courses a word which is sure to be interpreted not in the broad and easy sense in which we should like to use it, but in the sense in which they hear it applied and themselves learn to apply it as a distinctively professional term. In fact we must be on our guard against such a practice for at least two reasons, one that it is genuinely inexact, the other that it may well enough be suspected to be a case of the homely classical crow seeking to dress itself out with scientific feathers not its own.

BUT THERE MUST BE something about Tacitus that gave my teachers a justification as they thought for the use of the word "psychology" in reference to his work; such things do not just merely happen. I suppose that it arose in relation to his interest in persons and their characters. As a matter of fact the psychology taught at the beginning of the century was very largely associated with morals and very largely taught by clergymen; it was an attempt at a non-religious, or, more exactly, a non-sectarian approach to the assertion of the existence of certain qualities as spiritual entities. That is what makes it all seem so far away now; the

very greatest change in the teaching of psychology, as the quotation just given from the *London Times Literary Supplement* showed, lies in the approach to it not through a vaguely definable spirit but through a very obvious body, physiologically considered. It has to do with laboratories and experimentation, with carefully recorded physiological variation and tentative "theoretical fertility" in relating its possible *schema* to the assembled data of clinical experience.

The "psychology"—I must still set it down with quote-marks—of Tacitus of which my father and your grandfather spoke was really acute character-description, a shrewd statement of what, observationally, a person did and of the apparent reasons for his doing so. Let me give an example, and an extraordinarily good one, of what I mean, the thumb-nail sketch of Petronius in *Annals* 16.18.1-4:

Since his nights were given over to social engagements and the amenities of high life, he slept in the daytime. It was by energy that others had attained fame; he reached the same goal by indolence. Escaping the reproach of gourmand and wastrel that as a rule attaches to people who run through their fortunes, he became famous as the world's ranking authority on high living. All he said and did, the looser it was and the less restraint it suggested, was gladly welcomed as the revelation of the frank extrovert. Yet, as proconsul in Bithynia and as consul at Rome, he had displayed both strength of character and a genuine capacity for business. Thereafter, slipping back into a life of vice, or at least one which presented a good imitation of such a life, he found a welcome into the inner circle of Nero's intimates. He became his "Master of Refinements;" the prince thought that there was nothing characterized by elegance or displaying sophistication in extravagance save what Petronius had recommended to him.

Now that is what we are entirely justified in calling a good piece of character-observation admirably expressed; it is the picture of a man deliberately concluding that in the particular age in which he lived and under the particular ruler of Rome reigning at that time when his own active political career came to an end, the secret of a happy life lay in applying his talents to the business of making a career of dissolute refinement appear the summum bonum of achievement, *la vie à*

*rebours*, so to say, from the somewhat dreary prescription of the philosophers of the good, the beautiful, and the true. Tacitus did then have the acute observational qualities which are so necessary for success in what we call the life-sciences, but these qualities he worked intuitively and not under carefully contrived scientific restraint. In other words, Tacitus may fairly be judged to have the observational capacity on which psychology must largely depend, but it was not a scientifically controlled and directed observational capacity.

One other point: the description of Petronius is a very neat piece of Latin writing. Tacitus was writing history, but not history as the report of a scientific research but history as literature, and what counts in literature as such is style. Perhaps even more in well-done history than elsewhere; Tacitus knew, of course, that Cicero, *maestro di tutti che sanno* in the field of letters, had said of history, or had represented his friend Atticus as saying, that it was *opus maxime oratorium*, "a branch of literature characterized in the highest degree by style," that is, by what the classic age called *oratio* and the Silver age *eloquentia*. Style is attained, from one aspect at least, and a very important one too, by the precision and the dignity of the language employed; one passes through *verba* into *veritas*, or what you make to appear to your admiring reader as *veritas*. When this is combined with acute observational powers, you get, as in the portrait of Petronius, something that sounds like the finality of a scientific report written by a man who knows how to write. Nothing could be, according to the *vis vivida* of my recollection, a better description of the best teaching of psychology when I was an undergraduate *consule Manlio*. Hence it was natural then to speak with feeling and conviction of the "psychology" of Tacitus.

It is true that Tacitus has a theory of character which would give some small foothold for speaking of his "psychology," though one

is bound to point out that ethics and psychology are not the same thing by any manner of means. It is a very dangerous theory assuming as it does that there is born in and with the individual a "character" ("mint-mark"), which is, as the late Professor F. B. Marsh of Texas put it, something "immutable and static." Life is then simply a development in thought, speech and action of this original *quale et quantum*; there is really no redemption, no escape; people do not change. The person in question in any given narrative is biographized accordingly; events are selected and presented, beyond all doubt, to agree with this conception of a fundamental character. It is a grim theory and works out most dramatically, of course, as in a Calvinistic exposition of man's lost and ruined state, where the "immutable and static" is conceived of as fundamentally bad; it would afford much less professional pleasure to the historian as artist to deal with a character that is conceived of as endowed with a good and virtuous primality. Hence the great success of Tacitus, artistically that is though not necessarily historically, in dealing with a Tiberius, a Nero, an Agrippina, and no doubt Caligula too. But this is a very large question into which to plunge, and in any event I am undertaking to deal with it in the *University of California Studies in Classical Philology* under the title "The Tacitean *Non Liquet* on Seneca." For the purposes of this present trifle it should be enough to say that while such a theory of character possesses certain inviting features for a Goya-like depicter of the terrible and the appalling, it is not a qualification in its holder for the rank of psychologist.

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[Professor Alexander came back to his alma mater to read this sprightly paper (and listen to others) at the 1952 meeting of the *Classical Association of the Middle West and South*. Ed.]

## The Coriolanus Story in Antiquity

TODAY, DESPITE OUR quantitative and qualitative increases in knowledge, there is found less dynamic common information than in any other period in history. When at the present time one desires to stress some type of behavior or action, instead of alluding to specific stories, fables, or personages known to all, one uses clichés, abstract generalities, and vocational jargon. Beside this *Weltanschauung* of confused communication, one might well examine the classical view of Coriolanus and extend this approach, applying it to our modern methods of education.

Coriolanus has served as a lesson to men during many centuries. So mixed was his character that anyone could refer to some action of his and draw a moral from it. To one, he was a traitor; to another, a great general; to a third, an example of filial piety.

He was probably better known in antiquity than our extant references indicate, through the many early histories and chronicles now lost. For example Livy referred to Fabius Pictor, the old annalist, when he desired to reinforce his statement concerning the death of Coriolanus.<sup>1</sup>

The first extant literary reference to Coriolanus is simply an allusion to him as a traitor, found in the works of Cicero. Whether or not he was considered a traitor by writers before Cicero is unknown. But for all subsequent writers Cicero set the pattern of Coriolanus, the traitor to his country. In 49 B.C., in the *Letters to Atticus*, Cicero, while condemning the cruel warfare that Pompey was waging, pointed to Coriolanus as an example of a man who incited others to take up arms to avenge personal wrongs. There Cicero called him "impius."<sup>2</sup> Also in the *De Amicitia*, written about 44 B.C., Cicero alluded to Coriolanus' infamous conduct twice. In the course of discussing "how far love ought to go in friendship," Cicero asked if Coriolanus' friends were obliged to bear arms with him against their country.<sup>3</sup> After

having analyzed the problem, Cicero condemned Coriolanus for betraying his country and suggested that friends be punished very severely for following a traitor (p. 155).

Writing during the periods when Caesar defied the Senate in 49 B.C., and when civil war was imminent in 44 B.C., Cicero was able to point a moral very concretely by referring to Coriolanus' actions—a method of teaching far superior to the usual one of making abstract political remarks about patriotism and treachery. To Cicero, the patriot, the greatest crime that one could commit was treason against one's country. To Cicero, Caesar and Catiline were two traitors, and Coriolanus was a third. This patriotic view of Coriolanus was singularly important because it was repeated over and over again whenever a writer desired to warn against treachery.

This same attitude towards him was adopted by Aulus Gellius, Lucius Ampelius and Eutropius. While discussing synchronous events which took place in Greece and Rome, Gellius referred to Coriolanus as a traitor to his country.<sup>4</sup>

Lucius Ampelius, another compiler, also cited Coriolanus as an example of a traitor. His *Liber memorialis* is one of the many books written by courtiers and civil servants to instruct rulers in the art of government. These writers usually pointed out deeds both worthy and unworthy of governors. The Macrinus to whom Ampelius dedicated his book was not necessarily the emperor of 217-218 A.D., though it is as likely that he was. Briefly telling the story of Coriolanus, Ampelius revealed the lesson that might be learned from this Roman general in the heading under which the narrative was found: "Qui Adversus Patriam Nefaria Iniere Consilia."<sup>5</sup> As Ampelius was illustrating actions of the various types of men, he used Coriolanus as a concrete example of someone who gave advice detrimental to his fatherland.

A similar didactic purpose motivated Eutropius' *Breviarium ab urbe condita*. One of the sources of Roman History most popular with the writers of the early Middle Ages, the *Breviarium* was dedicated to the Emperor Valens.<sup>6</sup> In the dedication Eutropius stated that the emperor should learn to rule well from the deeds of illustrious men of the past.<sup>7</sup>

After describing the kings other than Tarquin who had previously been driven from Rome, Eutropius told about the exile of Coriolanus, comparing him with Tarquin (p. 7). The fact that Eutropius linked Coriolanus with Tarquin shows that he viewed Coriolanus as a traitor of the worst kind. Perhaps since Valens was having difficulty with the invading half-civilized Goths, Eutropius emphasized the treachery of Coriolanus to his country.

Just as Cicero, Ampelius and Eutropius cited Coriolanus as an example to mankind, so also did Livy, Dionysius and others, but with this difference; the former censured him, whereas the latter honored him. Both groups, however, pointed to him as a concrete lesson to their readers.

Favoring the patricians in their early struggle with the plebeians, Titus Livius, about 20 B.C., in *Ab urbe condita*, presented Coriolanus as one of the great, but unfortunate heroes of the past. In the *Preface* to Book 1 he exhorted his readers to examine the lives and characters of the men in the past, and then to restore their pristine virtues in the present corrupt society (pp. 4 ff.). Livy hoped to reform and rejuvenate Rome and, to do this, painted a glorious golden past.

Since he was the first extant writer to give us the complete story of Coriolanus, one may say for all practical purposes that subsequent writers who narrated the story more or less faithfully reproduced his pattern. The essential elements of the Coriolanus story are: the exploits of a military hero, his reviling the people and their indignation at his attempt to deprive them of their rights, the banishment of Coriolanus, his instigation of the Volscians, the invasion of the outlying areas, the siege of Rome, the success of his

mother's entreaties, and his return to Corioli leaving Rome unharmed.

In Livy's description of the attack upon Corioli, the youthful hero was introduced as a resourceful man and an excellent warrior (p. 326)—dual qualities stressed in most versions of the story. Coriolanus as a general was preeminently successful, but as a governor an absolute failure.

A few years after the victory over the Volscians, during a famine in Rome grain had been imported from Sicily. Several of the leaders of the patricians, Coriolanus among them, determined to use this grain in an ancient "cold war" against the people. The plan was to trade grain for the right of electing tribunes. Here Coriolanus was described as "hostis tribuniciae potestatis" (p. 330).

Livy, sympathizing with the patricians and Coriolanus, justified this move by saying that it was within the rights of the fathers, even though Coriolanus' proposals seemed to lead to the restoration of the tyranny of the Tarquins (p. 333). The enraged tribunes and plebeians, over the protests of the Fathers who were thus required to sacrifice one man to appease them, summoned Coriolanus to justify himself. According to Livy, he ignored their injunction and consequently was banished (p. 334).

When Coriolanus, having become co-general of the Volscian army, was ready to attack Rome, he tried to create dissension among the Romans by the simple device of ordering the pillagers to spare the farms of the patricians and to ravage those of the plebeians. However, despite this stratagem and the incendiary speeches of the tribunes, national solidarity prevailed (p. 344). Just as Coriolanus was ready to storm Rome, the Roman ambassadors arrived at the Volscian camp and entreated him to lift the siege from his city. This he did and then he returned to Corioli where he lived till old age, exiled from his friends, family, and fatherland (p. 350).

Besides representing Coriolanus as a great general and wronged leader of the patricians, Livy also referred to him several times as the

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symbol of family devotion. In the first reference, Livy told how Valerius Corvus, in 342 B.C., while trying to reconcile a group of Roman soldiers who had revolted, asked if they would follow the example of Coriolanus and repent their actions only when their mothers should come forth from Rome (3.506). Similarly in a second allusion to Coriolanus Livy presented Publius Cornelius Scipio, in 206 B.C., haranguing a group of mutineers, citing Coriolanus as an example of a man who, though having just cause to revolt against his city as those before him had not, restrained himself because of "privata pietas" (3.278). Thus it appears that Livy, too, took the name of Coriolanus for a didactic and moral purpose.

Heightening Livy's sympathetic treatment of Coriolanus, Dionysius of Halicarnassus in *The Roman Antiquities*, the first part of which was published in 7 B.C., presented Coriolanus as one of the preeminent heroes of the remote past, whose life ended tragically because he was unable to compromise his lofty political and ethical ideals with the base notions of the rabble. All through his account, Coriolanus was eulogized as one of the greatest men of the age.

The principal purpose of Dionysius' history was to "reconcile the Greeks to the rule of Rome by dilating upon the good qualities of their conquerors."<sup>8</sup> Besides this avowed political intent of his history, Dionysius desired it to be "useful to many" because he believed that the brilliant achievements both in peace and in war were the bricks and mortar of eternal Rome.<sup>9</sup>

In the battle with the Volscians, all the Roman soldiers were described as heroes; Marcius, however, was praised as the supreme symbol of the superlative warrior. Dionysius also characterized him as a virtuous private citizen, calling him *sôphrôn*, (4.128), which certainly strains the credence of the reader. All through a detailed description of the battle, the heroic deeds of Coriolanus, as well as the actions of the other Romans, were lauded. However, we are never allowed to forget that Coriolanus was unique

and that he should receive the accolade for the victory (p. 130). Dionysius further extolled his hero when he described the soldiers' reaction to Coriolanus' contempt for wealth and called him *metrios* (p. 134)—a word that indicates Dionysius' admiration for Coriolanus.

After peace was restored, Coriolanus accused the people of tyranny, and of repressing the patricians (p. 210). Dionysius, paralleling Livy in narrating the events leading up to Coriolanus' arrest, stated that when he refused to obey a summons he was assailed by the tribunes but protected by the patricians. There were several speeches for and against him, but he was finally condemned. Curiously enough Coriolanus was tried for tyranny, the same crime which he imputed to the commons. When he left Rome his attitude was the same as that of Livy's hero; he resented his misfortune and at the same time desired to avenge himself upon his enemies (5.3). In the speeches made before the Volscians, Coriolanus reiterated the charge that he was condemned by the vicious rabble and justified himself as one who desired only to entrust the government to the best men (p. 19). Dionysius mirrored Livy in his discussion of the political sagacity of Coriolanus in ordering the farms of the plebeians devastated and those of the patricians left intact (p. 34). When he stated that only the most evil-minded among the populace sided with the tribunes in the civil strife which resulted from Coriolanus' invasion of the Roman territories, Dionysius indicated his biased political attitude (p. 39).

The peace embassies sent by the Romans to Coriolanus provided ample opportunities for Dionysius to compose speeches. These, as would be expected, presented Coriolanus as the injured party—a victim of a conspiracy instigated by the tribunes (pp. 64 ff.). The ambassadors exhorted him to return and take his rightful place among the rulers of the city and to enjoy once more the society of his relatives and friends (p. 70). Dionysius naturally allowed Coriolanus to answer them, and to justify himself in terms of high principles and the rule of the aristocracy (p. 86).

But, just as in *Ab urbe condita*, after a second embassy Coriolanus was moved by his mother to disband the army. Unlike Livy's hero, he was stoned to death by a faction that Tullus Atticus incited. As Dionysius, however, desired to emphasize once more the greatness of his preeminent hero, he named Coriolanus the greatest general of the age—a man who in addition to his martial talents had every public and private virtue. But in temper Coriolanus was a puritan, and unable to sympathize with the less austere citizens of Rome (pp. 176 ff.).

Coriolanus' violent death enabled Dionysius to arouse pity in his readers by describing the reactions of both the Volscians and the Romans to the tragedy of this magnificent warrior who "is still praised and celebrated by all as a pious and just man."<sup>10</sup>

Although Dionysius pointed out the vices in the character of Coriolanus, he stressed the virtues which made him the most illustrious man of the age, a model of justice and piety. Thus Coriolanus was cited as a renowned example of the early virtuous Roman, one of the leaders of the people who conquered Greece, one whose acts should be rivalled and whose virtues should be emulated.

Carrying on the tradition of a splendid Coriolanus, Valerius Maximus about 31 A.D. wrote a book entitled *Facta et dicta memorabilia*, in which he narrated the story of Coriolanus. Valerius' aim was to make a handy digest of memorable deeds and sayings for rhetoricians, and to do this he used many illustrious examples from early Roman history. Since Valerius took the story from Livy, whose general view he follows, his attitude towards Coriolanus cannot be considered independent, but he is symbolic of the didactic tendency of the Roman historians to moralize on concrete personages of the past eras.

The heading under which the story of Coriolanus is found is "De Pietate Erga Parentes et Fratres et Patriam;"<sup>11</sup> obviously it is loyalty towards parents that is exemplified in this story. This is the same approach to Coriolanus that Livy took in his miscellane-

ous references. Although Valerius told the story briefly in thirty lines, one cannot fail to notice his pronounced bias in favor of Coriolanus when he described him: "Coriolanus maximi vir animi et altissimi consilii." Using Livy's pattern, Valerius presented him as a most worthy man, nefariously condemned. To make the story more dramatic and to contrast the valiant hero with the craven senators and populace, Valerius pictured them as follows: "stupebat senatus, trepidabat populus" (p. 244). Only through the supplication of his family was the army disbanded and peace restored. Thus in accordance with his avowed purpose of glorifying famous deeds, Valerius noted Coriolanus' preeminence as a leader and stressed his family devotion.

Several years later, about 80 A.D., Sextus Julius Frontinus, using *Ab urbe condita* as a source, compiled "An Officer's Guide" of notable deeds: *Stratagematon*. His object, too, was didactic, for he intended to offer to "officer candidates" concrete illustrious examples of good and bad techniques in warfare. Under the subtitle "De Distingendis Hostibus," he cited Coriolanus' tactics for dividing the city.<sup>12</sup> Thus it appears that Coriolanus had by this time become a stock example of a good tactician.

Because the educative value of Rome and her heroes appealed very strongly to Appian, about 150 A.D. he wrote his *Roman History* in order to explain how Rome, through the bravery of her people and good fortune, became the mistress of the world, and how the weaknesses of the other provinces permitted this conquest.<sup>13</sup> He, too, esteemed Coriolanus. In Book II, "Concerning Italy," Appian told in an artless manner the story of Coriolanus after his banishment. That he considered the people in the wrong is seen in another reference to Coriolanus in "The Civil Wars." Here, after discussing the dissensions between the senate and the plebeians over the augmentation of their respective magistrates, Appian remarked that Coriolanus was banished contrary to justice (3.5).

When Appian in *The Roman History* came to the latter part of the story, he emphasized

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Coriolanus' family piety. By stressing this aspect of the story, he carried on the Livy-Dionysius tradition of admiration for Coriolanus' leadership and family piety. For his sources of early Roman history, Appian used Polybius, Paulus Claudius, and other Greek and Roman historians, and therefore his judgment is independent of the earlier writers whom I have studied. The didactic attitude, however, was present since Coriolanus represented the injured leader of the patricians.

About 160 A.D., a Macedonian rhetorician, Polyaeus, wrote *Strategems* to aid the Emperors Marcus and Verus in the Parthian War. To do this, he, like Frontinus, chose concrete illustrations to demonstrate tactics and strategy in warfare. Among the examples chosen from the Romans, Polyaeus selected Coriolanus, whose story he told from a military point of view, starting with the banishment. The narrative is brief, comprising only seventeen lines, half of which are devoted to the exhorting of Coriolanus to abandon the siege of Rome. In the concluding lines Polyaeus suggested that the withdrawal of Coriolanus was a tactical error since it indirectly caused his death.<sup>14</sup> The lesson to be learned from Coriolanus was to avoid doing anything which might cause the general harm.

Plutarch, too, desired to present illustrious examples of the past and compare them with less remote heroes. He wrote his *Parallel Lives* about 105-115 A.D., to prove that ancient Greece also could show its lawgivers, commanders, statesmen, patriots, and orators, as well as the nearer and therefore more impressive past of Rome.<sup>15</sup> In the *Parallel Lives*, as well as in his complementary work the *Morals*, "Plutarch is far more moralist than historian," as can be seen from the many lessons which permeate the *Lives*.

Plutarch presented a third attitude towards Coriolanus. Unlike Cicero, who emphasized an opprobrious aspect of Coriolanus, and Livy, who stressed his virtues, Plutarch noted both the good and the bad. Although the seeds of his viewpoint were found in Dionysius' final encomium, one would hardly

say that the attitudes of these two authors were the same. Plutarch throughout presented his protagonist as a man with great potentialities and promise of good, as well as with singularly asocial and egotistical characteristics.

After describing Coriolanus' genealogy, observing that he "lost his father at an early age and was reared by his widowed mother, (p. 118). Plutarch discussed the relative merits of environment and heredity and, in his initial characterization of Coriolanus, recognized both good and evil. He had received from his parents a generous and noble nature. Insensible to pleasures, toils, and mercenary gains, Coriolanus also inherited a vigorous intellect. But on the other hand he had a vehement temper, was arrogant, and clashed with his fellow citizens (pp. 118 ff.).

Plutarch, repeating the usual story of Coriolanus' successes, saw his mother as the chief influence in his life. In the civil strife which occurred before the battle with the Volscians, Plutarch declared that Coriolanus took a prominent part in curbing the revolt of the populace against the laws" (p. 128). After this uprising the people were mollified by being given the privilege of electing five protectors; whereas the patricians were displeased. Coriolanus acted patriotically and exhorted them to show that they were superior to the common people in their concern for their country's welfare. During the battle with the Volscians, Coriolanus distinguished himself, and though a few of the Romans followed him into Corioli, many were craven. Up to this point in the story, Plutarch had presented Coriolanus as the magnanimous hero—an example to be imitated.

In the *Parallel Lives* the tribunes were definitely the rabble rousers, for Plutarch stated that as soon as the war was over, without cause for complaint, they revived the old internal dissensions (p. 132). Marcus, who had become the most powerful man in the city, took the lead in resisting them. When he stood for consul all the people agreed to elect him. But when election day came, the people, fearing that they would be deprived of their

liberties, rejected him (pp. 150 ff.). Here Plutarch, distorting the story, stressed the strife between Coriolanus and the plebeians. This is a new aspect of the story, for no mention of standing for consul was made in Livy, and there was only the faintest allusion to it in Dionysius. Coriolanus' reaction to his repudiation by the people signified to Plutarch that he was unfit to be a governor because he was unable to control his passionate nature (p. 152).

Then Plutarch described the incident concerning the importation of corn; and whereas before, in the *Parallel Lives*, Coriolanus had been moderate in his dealings with the people, he now became fanatically class-conscious and assaulted the multitude in the same manner as had the Coriolanus of Dionysius. As in Livy and Dionysius, after Coriolanus was indicted, condemned and exiled, he planned revenge. A further parallel is seen in the preservation of the lands of the patricians and the devastation of the fields of the plebeians (p. 184).

A marked contrast, however, is to be noted in the attitude towards Coriolanus when he appeared before the gates of Rome. In Livy and Dionysius, both the people and the senators invited him back; but in the *Parallel Lives*, the senate rejected the proposals for several reasons. In the first place they opposed the desires of the people because they did not want Marcius restored through the people's kindness. Furthermore, Marcius had now become an enemy of the whole city (p. 188). After Coriolanus withdrew, he was put to death by the Volscian conspirators; but unlike the version of Dionysius, he was not honored by the Romans (p. 216).

In accordance with the moral and political purpose of the *Lives*, Plutarch analyzed the character of Coriolanus, comparing him with Alcibiades. He berated Coriolanus for his utter ungraciousness, pride, oligarchical demeanor (p. 222), and for his selfish, traitorous actions, since he intended to injure the whole city rather than recover and regain it. Also condemning the social and political views of Coriolanus as unjust, Plutarch implied that

his banishment was the reward for his sin (p. 228). Coriolanus' austerity and superiority to wealth would have made him one of the best of the early Romans, but for his temper and arrogance (p. 230).

Thus it appears that Plutarch, deviating from his supposed source, Dionysius, presented Coriolanus as a man capable of great deeds, but, because of egocentric pride, unable to adjust to misfortunes in his personal affairs. For his good characteristics he is praised; for his bad ones, he is condemned.

Thus Plutarch also fashioned for all subsequent writers a pattern of Coriolanus which emphasized both the good and the bad. Understanding the flaws in his personality, Plutarch presented him as a great hero whose actions in war were worthy of imitation, but whose acts during peace were to be shunned.

An echo of Plutarch's attitude towards him is found in the *Epitome de Tito Livio* written about 120 A.D. by Lucius Annaeus Florus. He intended to praise Rome and her heroes, for he felt that the greatness of the Roman people should inspire all mankind.<sup>16</sup> In the *Epitome* there are two references to Coriolanus. One of them, belittling the conquest of Corioli, ridicules the supposed glorious achievement;<sup>17</sup> and the other, under the heading "Of Civil Discords," glorifies the vigor of the early Romans, and applauds the exile of Coriolanus (pp. 68 ff.).

Although the title states that this book is an epitome of Livy, Florus' variation of Livy's attitude towards Coriolanus is significant. Here the arrogance of Coriolanus is suggested together with his preeminence as a leader. With the many economic and political difficulties of his own time in mind, Florus probably desired to honor and encourage the Roman people by popularizing their earlier deeds.

Another historian who borrowed from Livy was Cassius Dio Cocceianus whose *Roman History*, written from 200-222 A.D., concentrated on politics. Unfortunately Dio's account of Coriolanus is to some extent fragmentary, though his attitude is clear at several places. Dio gave the story a new

twist; for he did not, like Livy and Dionysius, call Coriolanus a great hero, or like Plutarch, a potentially great man who went wrong because he was unable to attain his desires. He described a strong-backed, weak-minded soldier, great in war, but woefully wanting in peacetime.<sup>18</sup>

Dio narrated the story according to *Ab urbe condita* up to the moment when Coriolanus departed for Corioli. At this point there is a hiatus, the narrative being resumed prior to the supplications and withdrawals. After this latter incident Coriolanus did not return to Rome "through fear of the multitude and shame before his peers, in that he had ever undertaken an expedition against them" (pp. 148 ff.).

Since Dio used Livy as a main source only for the period after the Second Punic War, (p. xv) his view of Coriolanus represents a different analysis of the man, one independent of the earlier writers studied.

Another author who also saw both good and bad in Coriolanus' character was Sextus Aurelius Victor. He too was interested in presenting concrete examples of virtuous behavior from the earlier Romans to his contemporaries. In his *Liber de viris illustribus urbis Romae* written about 365 A.D., Victor called Coriolanus "virtutis et pietatis exemplum"<sup>19</sup> when, for his outstanding acts of arms, he took only a horse as a reward and released his Volscian host, who was a prisoner. Later on, however, after narrating the events in accordance with the structure of Livy's prototype, Victor remarked that after the war the traitor was killed.

By this time Coriolanus had become a stock example of a virtuous warrior who had gone wrong, and thus Victor's presentation was simply another indication of the popularity of the exemplum.

It is clear, in fine, that the name Coriolanus was well known in Roman times as a symbol of the great warrior and reverent son on the one hand, and of the traitor on the other. The patterns of his character were designed for subsequent writers by three men: Cicero, to whom Coriolanus was a traitor; Livy, who

portrayed him as a virtuous military and civic leader; and Plutarch, who delineated him as a complex personality composed of both good and evil. All appear to have admired him as a strong military man; however, different facets of his character were emphasized by each writer.

Livy, Dionysius, Plutarch, and Dio slanted the Coriolanus story for social and ethical reasons. Livy distorted his material to restore the pristine virtues of Rome, and therefore he glorified Coriolanus as a pattern of conduct. Dionysius wrote his social history to magnify the Romans, and therefore he eulogized Coriolanus. Plutarch shaped his *Parallel Lives* to teach practical philosophy, and therefore he analyzed both the good and the bad in Coriolanus.

Most of the other historians simply used Coriolanus as a stock literary reference for didactic reasons. Cicero, Ampelius and Eutropius cited him as an example of a traitor to his country; whereas Frontinus and Polyaeus referred to him as a great general.

But for whatever purpose these authors wrote their works, they all alluded to Coriolanus as a concrete example of a traitor, heroic warrior, or of a reverent son. Clearly seen in these concrete references to Coriolanus was a didactic motive such as a person might well employ today in teaching.

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#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Livy, *Ab urbe condita*, trans. by B. O. Foster, London, 1939, vol. I, p. 351.

<sup>2</sup> Cicero, *Letters to Atticus*, trans. by E. O. Winstedt, London, 1921, vol. II, p. 226.

<sup>3</sup> Cicero, *De amicitia*, trans. by W. A. Falconer, London, 1927, p. 147.

<sup>4</sup> Aulus Gellius, *The Attic Nights*, trans. by J. C. Rolfe, London, 1928, III, 277.

<sup>5</sup> Ampelius, *Liber memorialis*, ed. by E. Woelflin, Lipsiae, 1889, p. 21.

<sup>6</sup> Teuffel, *History of Roman Literature*, revised and enlarged by L. Schwabe, trans. by G. D. W. Warr, London, 1892, p. 352.

<sup>7</sup> Eutropius, *Breviarium ab urbe condita*, ed. by F. Rühl, Lipsiae, 1897, p. 1.

<sup>8</sup> "Dionysius of Halicarnassus," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 11th Edition, N. Y., 1911, VII, 397.

<sup>9</sup> Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *The Roman Antiquities*, trans. by E. Cary, London, 1937, I, 6.

<sup>10</sup> J. W. Duff, *A Literary History of Rome in the Silver Age*, London, 1930, p. 72.

<sup>11</sup> Valerii Maximi, *Factorum et dictorum memorabilium*, Lipsiae, 1887, p. 243.

<sup>12</sup> Frontinus, *The Stratagems*, trans. by C. E. Bennett, London, 1925, p. 56.

<sup>13</sup> Appian, *Roman History*, trans. by H. White, London, 1913, vol. I, p. 18.

<sup>14</sup> Polyaeus, *Strategematon*, ed. J. Melber, Lipsiae, 1887, p. 392.

<sup>15</sup> Plutarch, *Lives*, trans. by B. Perrin, London, 1928, vol. I, p. xiii.

<sup>16</sup> Duff, p. 647.

<sup>17</sup> Florus, *Epitome of Roman History*, trans. by E. S. Foster, London, 1929, p. 34.

<sup>18</sup> Dio, *Roman History*, trans. by E. Cary, London, 1914, vol. I, p. 136.

<sup>19</sup> Sextus Aurelius Victor, *Liber de viris illustribus urbis Romae*, ed. by Fr. Pichlmayr, Lipsiae, 1911, p. 37.

## We See By the Papers . . . .

Edited by John F. Latimer

### STALINIPPIC

If Demosthenes were alive today what would he have to say about the current situation? According to Constantine Brown, writing in Washington's *The Evening Star* (May 14, 1952), his "warning to Athenians on timidity" is just as applicable and timely now as it was in 352 B.C.:

Shame on you Athenians for not wishing to understand that in war one must not allow oneself to be at the command of events, but to forestall them. You Athenians are the strongest of all the Greeks in ships, cavalry, infantry and revenue and you do not make the best of them. You make war against Philip like a barbarian

wrestler. If he suffers a blow he immediately puts his hand on it. If he is struck again he puts his hand there too. But he does not have the skill of parrying it. You, likewise, if you hear that Philip has attacked a town, you send help there; if he is at Thermopylae you run there, and if he turns aside you follow him to the right or left as if you were acting on his orders. Never a fixed plan; never any precaution. You wait for the bad news before you act. (*Phil.* 1.51-52)

Mr. Brown reviews our policy from the end of World War II down to the current disgraceful bumbling on Kojé Island in the light of Demosthenes' cracking words to his fellow-Athenians. The parallelism may not be quite as close as Mr. Brown implies, but it is too close for comfort and, one fears, for security.

### RUSSIA AND AESOP AGAIN

One of the sources of Russian doubletalk is the use of "Aesopian language." This "is a technique," Louis F. Budenz said recently in his testimony for the Government at the trial of 16 Communist leaders, "borrowed from Aesop, Greek author, who cloaked his ideas in the allegorical language used in his animal fables." He was referring particularly to the Big Three's statement "on the generations of peace," made at the Teheran conference. This statement, according to courtroom observers, as reported in *The Evening Star* (May 13, 1952) was believed to be as follows:

We recognize fully the supreme responsibility resting upon us and all the United Nations to make a peace which will command the good will of the overwhelming masses of the peoples of the world and banish the scourge and terror of war for many generations.

Even if Stalin was primarily responsible for this phraseology, as Budenz implies, it is difficult to detect any *Aesopian* undertone to the words themselves. No matter what the Russian interpretation of them might be, surely it is going too far to equate hypocrisy with allegory. To paraphrase a famous quotation: "O Aesop, how many crimes are committed in thy name!"

# Homer and Democracy

IN THE DAYS when Upton Sinclair was a very red critic of our society and had to publish his subversive stuff at his own expense, he wrote a book named *Mammonart*, in which he tried strenuously to strip the buncombe from Homer. He came to the conclusion that Homer's poems were "ruling-class propaganda, written to glorify the ancestors of powerful chieftains and fighting men, and to inculcate the spirit of obedience and martial pride in the new generations. . . . Homer serves these purposes, because he has the aristocratic point of view, and gives the aristocratic mind what it craves."<sup>1</sup> The Socialist Sinclair found in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* precisely the same political notions that the anti-Socialists,—Matthew Arnold and William Gladstone, for examples—found there. On few topics can we discover such concord between the most adamant of antagonists as we find on the question of Homer's governmental convictions. According to the nearly unanimous judgment of scholars everywhere, whether royalist or republican, Homer was a servitor at the courts of nameless majesties, a celebrator of caste rule.<sup>2</sup> No Yankee champion of the common genius protested when Werner Jaeger asserted: "Homer's poetry brings out one fundamental fact: that all culture starts with the creation of an aristocratic ideal."<sup>3</sup> Yet this assertion and the parallel claim of Upton Sinclair embody the very quintessence of buncombe about Homer. Yankee science long ago, in the person of Lewis Henry Morgan, proved that Homer was a bard of democracy. Morgan's masterpiece *Ancient Society* exploded the prevalent dogmas on Homer and homage, showing how government in the first and finest epic songs belonged to the people, founded on principles of liberty, equality, and fraternity.<sup>4</sup> Morgan and his fellow pioneers of anthropology bring out plain as sunshine the fundamental fact that all culture starts, like the primitive Grecian government, "essentially democratical."

At the very outset of the *Iliad* we behold Greek government as Homer revered and loved it. There is nothing monarchic here. The plague of Apollo compels the Greeks at war with Troy to take counsel for relief. Their bravest warrior, Achilles, "called the folk to an assembly."<sup>5</sup> By what authority did he summon them? The feudalists give no reply. Clearly, the man whom they style the Greek emperor and commander-in-chief, Agamemnon, was not consulted. Nor were the warriors whom our classical experts call "nobles." Without a word about prerogative and divine right, Agamemnon and the so-called nobles join the rank and file of their army in the assembly. They listen to the prophet Calchas declare that the pestilence is the curse of Apollo against Agamemnon, who had outraged a priest of the god. The prophet exacts from Achilles a promise to guard him from the anger of the so-called commander-in-chief, "who sways the Argives widely with might, and the Achaians obey him."<sup>6</sup> What do these words mean? And the word *basileus* that Calchas applies to Agamemnon, translated by the Tories "king"? They mean what they say: Agamemnon is a wielder of huge physical force among the Greek tribes, and a *basileus* is a war-chief, no more a king in the official sense than was the Narragansett Indian whom New England named King Philip. Agamemnon was a king without a single subject. Achilles points out one limit of his might when he assures Calchas that none of the Argives or Achaians shall lay heavy hands on him to punish his free speech, though Agamemnon "now brags himself to be the biggest by far of the Achaians."<sup>7</sup> Achilles is no vassal of the "emperor"; in fact, he is a *basileus* himself, war-chief of the Myrmidons, whose name appears to signify an ant totem. (The totem of Agamemnon, we learn from Aeschylus, was an eagle.)<sup>8</sup> Another limit of the "emperor's" power is revealed in his own speech to Calchas. He offers to redeem his sin against

the priest of Apollo by restoring the captive Chryseis, daughter of the priest, but he demands a prize to take her place—"so I may not, alone of the Argives, go without a prize; that would not be right. For you all see this, that my prize is going away."<sup>9</sup> He appeals to all, to the people, for justice. What kind of kingship looks to the rank and file for recognition of right?

The popular sovereignty of the Greeks is plainly indicated by Achilles and Agamemnon in their battle of words. By the consent of the whole camp all plunder is divided in portions of equality. The "kings" get only what the folk distributes.<sup>10</sup> There is no law, however, to prevent one of the chiefs from grabbing a share of another's rewards; the primitive democracy left such affairs to the free fighting of the persons or clans concerned. Theft was no social sin to the Homeric Greeks, who considered piracy integral to the virtue of their men. But the feuds that resulted frequently from greedy violations of the people's allotment had as much in common with feudalism as the feuds of Kentucky mountain clans. Out of such a violation of the savage Greek democracy flowed the tragedy of Homer's colossal poem.

Before the assembly breaks up, Agamemnon sounds his nation's hatred of despotism, denouncing Achilles as a man "desirous of standing above all other men; he wishes to have mastery and lordship over all, and give commands to all."<sup>11</sup> The heroes of Homer could never have endured a monarchy. A *basileus* could not ordain a single law. He had no treasury or troops at his service. He received no taxes from his tribe, and exercised control over no wealth but his own. When the "king" of Lycia gave the hero Bellerophon half of his chieftainship, the Lycian folk approved the generosity, and granted the newcomer land worthy of a chief.<sup>12</sup> This land he was expected to work himself, with the help of his family and slaves. *There was no serfdom*. And the possession of slaves did not exalt the *basileus* above manual labor. Odysseus had the handicraft to build a bed and a raft, and doubtless other wooden necessities.<sup>13</sup> Paris,

the amorous "prince" of Troy, was a talented carpenter.<sup>14</sup> And the "princess" Nausicaa, daughter of "King" Alcinous, joined her handmaids in washing the family linen, fetched water from the village spring, and knew how to drive and harness mules.<sup>15</sup> Of course, the *basileus* could always be found in the very front of battle; war was his prime business.<sup>16</sup> In time of peace there was nothing formidable about him. The *Odyssey* pictures Menelaus and Nestor at home: one is arranging a marriage, the other a religious sacrifice; both events are presented as purely domestic affairs. The "king," observed Thomas Day Seymour, in his *Life in the Homeric Age*, "does not seem so necessary in peace as in war."<sup>17</sup> Indeed the "kingdoms" go kingless in time of peace. When Agamemnon left home, he appointed no viceroy to his office. He invited a poet to stay as adviser to his wife, Clytemnestra, but the advice was restricted to household problems.<sup>18</sup> The *Odyssey* tells how its hero, leaving Ithaca, committed personal matters to an old friend, Mentor. But Mentor exerted no royal authority in Ithaca.<sup>19</sup> The communities of these "monarchs" managed to survive lustily without regents, for the simple reason that the "monarchs" enjoyed their special powers only on the warpath.

The eminent Grote believed his claim that "the primitive Grecian government is essentially monarchical"<sup>20</sup> was confirmed by the thunder of Odysseus: "The rule of many is not a good thing. Let us have one governor (*koiranos*), one chief (*basileus*)."<sup>21</sup> Grote forgot that Odysseus was not delivering a lecture on political theory; he was trying to restore military concord among the Greeks in despair and tumult who were getting ready for flight from Troy. Before the phrases quoted by Grote come the words: "In no way can all the Greeks rule here": a plea for obedience on the battlefield to a single commander, to save energy for victory. The words that close the plea in modern texts: "one *basileus*, to whom Zeus has given the scepter, with divine sanctions to govern among you," are recognized even by such Tory interpreters as Leaf



as un-Homeric—a late interpolation by votaries of autocracy.<sup>22</sup> The Ithacan chief harangued the Achaeans to show the same harmony that the Trojans were showing. Their war-leader, Hector, was able to dismiss the assembly of his city when there was need for rushing to arms.<sup>23</sup> Obedience to Agamemnon did not mean homage and fealty; it meant respect for the man who hazarded the greatest stakes in the war. When the war was over, the chiefs could disobey him to their hearts' content. His brother Menelaus quarrelled violently with him when he wanted to delay the voyage home. After nearly coming to fists, Menelaus and his comrades hoisted sail and left the "emperor" with his friends to do as they pleased in Asia.<sup>24</sup> For the scepter of Agamemnon was hardly more than a shepherd's rod after the triumph over Troy. His heavenly sanctions had been more convincing when he journeyed through Greece arguing for volunteers to accompany him to battle and loot in the East.

The big *basileus* had the power to collect a fine from certain members of his nation in Corinth who failed to answer the call to arms.<sup>25</sup> One man gave a mare instead of his muscles to the cause. But the call to arms came originally not from the "king" but the *agora*, the tribal assembly. The congregation of the clans declared war: the "kings" could declare only feuds. When Tydeus and Polynices appealed to Agamemnon's home town, Mycenae, for warriors to march against Thebes, "the folk," he says, "were willing to grant them alliance."<sup>26</sup> Bad omens changed their minds, and the "kingdom" of Agamemnon kept peace with Thebes. The *powwow* had the final word.<sup>27</sup>

If the *basileus* enjoyed divine rights they were scarcely different from the divine rights enjoyed by the *mugquomp*, the Algonquin war-chief, in ancient America. The blood of gods ran in the veins of both. Nothing was more common among the epic Greeks than celestial lineage. Seymour lists as direct descendants of Zeus the "princes" Achilles, Agamemnon (a mere "prince" in this connexion), Ajax, Idomeneus, and Priam.<sup>28</sup> Why

was Patroclus, the comrade of Achilles, omitted? Because he is never described as a "prince"? Nevertheless his lineage was Olympian.<sup>29</sup> Springing from the loins of Zeus endowed nobody with dynastic privilege, as Leaf observed: "One cannot resist the suspicion," he wrote, "that when an Achaian chieftain is made son of Zeus it is because he has no more authentic lineage to show; and that a son of Zeus means in fact a self-made man."<sup>30</sup> Let us not forget that the ugly rascal Thersites was also a *prince*—at least the son of a *basileus*—and belonged to the kindred of the divine Diomedes, who interfered with the god-rights of Ares and the goddess-rights of Aphrodite before the walls of Troy.<sup>31</sup> Indeed, divinity was the birthright of every mortal in the poems of Homer. The reader may remember that our bard calls the gentle man Eumaeus *dios huphorbos*, the divine swineherd.<sup>32</sup> Blood of gods could not redeem Eumaeus from slavery; nor could it inspire the Greeks to reverence for Agamemnon. His authority was based on earthly commodities and virtues, and Lang's opinion that "his right to rule is *jure divino*"<sup>33</sup> has no more justification than Dr. Will Durant's dictum that the government of Lycurgus "laid its foundations in the sky."<sup>34</sup>

The fact that the war-captaincy (*basileia*) was hereditary in many Greek tribes does not materially alter the fact that it was a democratic dignity.<sup>35</sup> If John Adams had been succeeded by John Quincy Adams, and John Quincy by Charles Francis, and Charles Francis by Henry or Brooks Adams, the United States could still have claimed the glory of government of the people, for the people, by the people. No anthropologist has disputed Lewis Morgan's description of the Iroquois government as a democracy; yet the Iroquois made "war-chiefs" as well as "sachemships" hereditary.<sup>36</sup> The Indians and Hellenes acted in the belief that the qualities of leadership existed in the clan-seed of their chiefs. If the son of a *basileus* failed to strike the wits of his people as a candidate superb for the job, heredity could not help him obtain it. The father of Odysseus, the valiant

and laborious Laertes, apparently never held the war-leadership of Ithaca, although he had strength enough to head the defenders of his son against the infuriated friends of Penelope's killed lovers. Menelaus inherited the scepter of Sparta from Tyndareus while the adventurous sons of Tyndareus were alive and famous. The *basileia* of Atreus passed to his brother Thyestes; the son of Atreus, Agamemnon, did not become "king" until his uncle died. Odysseus' son Telemachus is recognized by his enemies as the rightful inheritor of his father's office; but one of them, Eurymachus, hoped to win the honor by wedding Penelope: the men of Ithaca, we are told, regarded him as a god, and he asserted: "this matter in truth lies on the knees of the gods, who of the Achaians shall be king in sea-girt Ithaca."<sup>37</sup> Certainly no man became a *basileus* without the consent of the people gathered in *agora*.

The feudalists have been perplexed by the riddle of the frontiers of the territories which they imagine the Homeric "monarchs" ruled.<sup>38</sup> They found it impossible to draw boundaries between the "kingdoms" of Agamemnon at Mycenae, Menelaus at Sparta, and Diomedes at Argos; none of these mighty chiefs had the border troubles inevitable to feudal states. The truth is that they were not lords of landed estates but representatives of clans—*gentes*, *phratries*—who considered the land common, sacred to all.<sup>39</sup> They would have cordially acclaimed the saying of the Hebrew psalmist: "The earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof."<sup>40</sup> When Homer's folk rewarded a hero with a domain (*temenos*), there was no question of "fee simple" or plot complex; the soil was not for sale. What Morgan witnessed among the Iroquois in agriculture we can still see in the Homeric world: "No individual could obtain the absolute title to land, as that was vested by the laws of the Iroquois in all the people; but he could reduce unoccupied lands to cultivation, to any extent he pleased; and so long as he continued to use them, his right to their enjoyment was protected and secured."<sup>41</sup> Since there were no frontiers to

the tribes, they could not enjoy the carnage of frontier feuds. They could fight over game and women, but not over "real" property. Lack of landlordship made room among the Greeks for a multitude of "kings." The feudalist students of Homer are bewildered by their number. On the island of Scheria there were thirteen, not including the "princess" Nausicaa.<sup>42</sup> Telemachus tells us that "there are other kings of the Achaians, very many in sea-girt Ithaca, both young and old."<sup>43</sup> Nobody has ever reckoned the quantity of "kings" in the *Iliad*. The feudalists will never map their imaginary realms.

Confronted with the "fierce spirit of independence" displayed by Homer's heroes, their antagonism to monarchy, Mahaffy decided that the epics portray a decadence, the breakdown of an aristocracy.<sup>44</sup> He could not understand the freedom of the chiefs in their councils, where the "emperor" Agamemnon was plainly rather the presiding officer than an absolute commander.<sup>45</sup> The council (*boule*) of the captains left very little to the decision of the bull-*basileus*. They meet to discuss his ominous dreams, to plan for the burial of warriors, and the building of a camp wall.<sup>46</sup> They send messengers to Achilles, begging him to return to the front. Three times Nestor makes the motion that is carried; and at least once he even gave the order for action.<sup>47</sup> When the council became hungry, they were fed and wine at the common cost. The "commons" were conspicuous and vocal at the councils. Aristotle tells us, in his *Nicomachean Ethics*, that the Homeric chiefs announced to the people what they had determined to do.<sup>48</sup> The *Iliad* shows us a fellow named Dolon, with no distinction except that he was rich in bronze and gold, had swift feet and a foul face, and was an only son among five sisters, interrupting the council of his Trojan superiors.<sup>49</sup> He is not rebuked; they listen to his proposals, and Hector is charmed by them. Polydamas dares to speak against the judgments of Hector, though he is simply "one of the people."<sup>50</sup> But there were no caste barriers to prevent a man of the masses from rising to the comradeship of the chiefs.

When Odysseus pretends to be the son of Castor of Crete, born of a concubine, he reveals how an enterprising pirate could become a "king."<sup>51</sup> He also reveals that, no matter how feared and honored, the captain had to obey the "commons" when they resolved on war: "there was no way to refuse, for the voice of the people pressed hard upon us."<sup>52</sup> The voice of the people was the supreme law for *basileus* and *boule*. Even the greatest of gods were bound by this law, for, as Aristotle noted, the Greeks "imagine not only the shapes of the gods but their ways of life to be like their own."<sup>53</sup> Olympus trembled under the fulminations of divine democracy, and it was a rare day for rejoicing when "the immortals that dwell in the halls of Olympus (were) no longer divided in council."<sup>54</sup> Zeus himself, *the president of the immortals*, in Aeschylean phrase,<sup>55</sup> had to harangue the gods and gain their approval before he could accomplish his will with economy of might. Yes, out of the fierce democracy that Mahaffy branded "decadence" sprang the glory that was Greece.

There is no necessity to review here the council of the elders (*boule geronton*) that corresponded in peace to the council of the war-chiefs. We need only note that the *senate* is portrayed by Homer at its customary duties of justice, acting without "royal" command or consultation.<sup>56</sup> Its democratic character is marked by the poet in such passages as the one telling how Priam sat on a tower of Troy with seven *demogerontes*—elders of the people.<sup>57</sup>

Voting meant shouting to the primitive democrats.<sup>58</sup> After listening to a Trojan messenger plead for a truce in which to burn the dead, and deliver Paris's proposal to end the war, the Achaian *agora* keeps profoundly silent until Diomedes thunders a rejection of the Paris plan. Then "all the sons of the Achaians shouted, applauding the saying of Diomedes the horse-tamer."<sup>59</sup> The scene reminds us of the Book of Job's vision of earth's first dawn: "when the morning stars sang together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy."<sup>60</sup> Agamemnon just echoes the *agora*

thunder to the Trojan: "You hear yourself the avowal of the Achaians, how they answer you; and that seems good to me."<sup>61</sup> There was naturally no opposition to the truce for cremating the dead. The messenger returned, not to "King" Priam nor "Prince" Hector, but to the Trojan assembly, which included, Homer tells us, both young men and old.<sup>62</sup> At the close of another day of battle, another Achaian assembly met to consider Agamemnon's desire for the return home. Diomedes rose to denounce the tearful chief for lack of valor, and told him to go his way if he wished: "and all the sons of the Achaians shouted aloud, applauding the speech of Diomedes."<sup>63</sup> Nestor then issued the directions that concluded the assembly. Finally, let us observe that Homeric democracy considered unanimous voting alone as a commandment for all the men. The shouting of the majority left the rest of the community with the power to arrest the decision of the shouters. What else is the *Iliad* but the tragedy of barbaric democrats who would not consent to surrendering one freedom of warrior and clan for the sake of the nation's victory? Precisely for the same freedom the ancient American democracy of the Iroquois was ruined, when they were unable to agree on a united war of their confederacy against our confederacy at the start of the Revolution. The Oneidas refused to march with the Mohawks and Senecas, and it was resolved at their council fire that each tribe might engage in the war on its own responsibility or stay neutral.<sup>64</sup> They had no Homer to mourn their lack of harmony. But the Iroquois sachems would have wept for joy if there had been a man like Homer to sing for them a story like the *Iliad*, especially a ballad of reconciliation such as took place between Achilles and Agamemnon. These chiefs ended their sundering where it occurred, in the *agora*; this time the crowd included the Greeks in charge of piloting the warriors' ships, sailors rather than fighters, together with the stewards who dealt out their food.<sup>65</sup> The hearts of the *agora* beat in unison as Odysseus declared: "Now let none of the host hold back, waiting other summons;

this is the summons—and bad will it be for whoever lingers behind at the Argive ships. For all together as one we will rouse against the horse-taming Trojans the fury of war.”<sup>66</sup> The thrilling call of Odysseus concludes the assembly.

Homer understood the elemental hazards of democracy. He indicated one of its main dangers when he told how the people of Troy applauded Hector although he had devised an evil plan, and nobody praised the critic of the hero, Polydamas, who framed excellent counsel.<sup>67</sup> But never does Homer hint the abolition of the people's right to be wrong by a baronial state. The bard enjoyed too deeply the exultation of shouting with his nation when the democracy thundered for the truth to be attracted by the virtues of dictatorship. For men of his kind the only salvation from the perils of the primitive republic was the stricter democracy portrayed in the dramas of Aeschylus, whose *agora* voted by lifting of hands instead of shouts.<sup>68</sup>

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#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Upton Sinclair, *Mammonart: An Essay in Economic Interpretation* (1925), 47, 48. Mr. Sinclair, who is well qualified to speak on the values of juvenile literature, remarks that the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* are “fascinating to read . . . if you come on them while you are young. There is a stage of life when we are naïve and uncritical in our acceptance of ‘heroism.’” (49) Beyond that stage, Sinclair thinks, Homer will hardly interest a growing heart and head.

<sup>2</sup> A typical expression of the dominant conception of the Homeric epics is the picture of the poet in Walter Miller's preface to his translation of the *Iliad* (1944): “a wandering minstrel, singing songs of chivalry at the courts of kings and princes” (ix).

Bonner and Smith (*The Administration of Justice from Homer to Aristotle*, 1930) are not convincing when they say: “The obedience of the people to their kings in the first instance was probably due to this reputed divine descent. Each chief was suzerain to a group of lesser chiefs” (2-3) . . . “The king had charge of foreign relations” (4), and “he had absolute authority” in military affairs. “This is shown most strikingly in the case of Agamemnon, the chief leader of the Greek forces before Troy. Nobody questioned his authority” (4).

<sup>3</sup> Werner Jaeger, *Paideia: The Ideals of Greek Culture*, translated by Gilbert Highet (1939), I, 55. Professor Jaeger thinks that *work*, which he calls “the second basis” of culture, found its ideal poet in Hesiod. Ac-

cording to this philosophy of culture, the horse-taming, cattle-slaughtering, boat-building, shield-smithing, and plow-driving that Homer exults over so frequently were plutocratic pastimes. The Jaeger-Highet interpretation of culture presents one of the ripest fruits of the feudal-ist faith in which Hellenic studies have been carried on for over a century in Germany, England, and consequently America. The *Paideia* plainly shows what counter-democratic doctrines were ground into the bones of American scholarship by Europe's dozenten and dons. An amusing portrayal of the Prussian pedagogy was given by Bliss Perry in Chapter IV of his autobiography, *And Gladly Teach*, which records what he and hundreds of other Yankee students endured at the feet of the dozenten and dons, before they were considered fit to instruct at our grave and ivied universities. American scholarship was trained under the tyranny of the enemies of Emersonian government.

<sup>4</sup> Lewis H. Morgan, *Ancient Society, or Researches in the Lines of Human Progress from Savagery through Barbarism to Civilization* (1877), 254 ff. American sociology has declined to follow Morgan's trail. For example, Albert Galloway Keller certified in *Homeric Society* (1902) that “Traditions of monarchy were strong among the Homeric Greeks” (251). I have found only one American writer speaking of the Greeks in the spirit of Morgan: Kate Stephens, in *The Greek Spirit* (1914). “Every government,” she declared, “is founded upon an original democracy,” (65) and Homer's kings hold office “by the free consent of the governed” (*ibid.*).

<sup>5</sup> *Iliad* I, 54. By the way, see how the priest Calchas, begging for his girl's liberty, appealed to all the Achaeans (*ibid.* I, 15).

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* I, 79.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* I, 91.

<sup>8</sup> Aeschylus, *Choephoroi*, 248.

<sup>9</sup> *Iliad* I, 118-119.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.* 125-126. Compare I, 368: “So the sons of the Achaeans divided among them all right” the plunder of Thebe.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.* I, 286-287.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.* VI, 194. We are told that the hero Meleager was granted some of the fattest ground of Kalydon by the elders of the country, the *gerontes*, whom Andrew Lang named “the gentry” (*Homer and His Age*, 1906, p. 237).

<sup>13</sup> *Odyssey* V, 243-261; XXIII, 188-189. Odysseus could also mow a field (*ibid.* XVIII, 366-370).

<sup>14</sup> *Iliad* VI, 313-314.

<sup>15</sup> *Odyssey* VI, 81-82, 90-95, 110.

<sup>16</sup> I tried to show how the epic heroes regarded war as work in my sketch “Thoughts on Thales,” *CLASSICAL JOURNAL* (October 1945), p. 5. But see *Iliad* IV, 258, IX, 320; X, 70-71; XII, 412 et *passim*.

<sup>17</sup> Seymour, *Life in the Homeric Age* (1907), p. 81.

<sup>18</sup> *Odyssey* III, 279-280. Aeschylus adequately defined the government of Agamemnon when he made the chief declare to the old men of Argos: “whatever we owe men or gods, we will decide with arguments together, holding council” (*Agamemnon*, 44-46).

<sup>19</sup> *Odyssey* II, 226.

<sup>20</sup> Grote, *History of Greece* (1846), II, 69.

<sup>21</sup> *Iliad* II, 204-205.

<sup>22</sup> Walter Leaf, ed. *The Iliad* (1886), I, 48. He says the line is found "only in two second-class MSS."

<sup>23</sup> *Iliad* II, 808-809.

<sup>24</sup> *Odyssey* III, 141 ff.

<sup>25</sup> *Iliad* XIII, 669.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.* IV, 380.

<sup>27</sup> For a more detailed comparison of the ancient Americans and the *Homericans*, see A. Feldman, "Indians and the *Iliad*," *Classical Journal* (October, 1947).

<sup>28</sup> Seymour, *op. cit.*, 82.

<sup>29</sup> *Iliad* XVI, 249.

<sup>30</sup> Leaf, *Homer and History*, 1915, p. 257.

<sup>31</sup> The wounding of the deity of love and the deity of war by Diomedes inspired two of the exquisite gems of Homer's humor (*Iliad* V, 330 ff., 855 ff.). On the ugly cousin of Diomedes, see "The Apotheosis of Thersites," by A. Feldman, in *The Classical Journal* of January, 1947.—Perhaps this note is as proper a place as in which to correct a remark I made in that article. I blamed J. P. Mahaffy as the scholar "probably responsible for beginning the process of beatification" of Thersites, which exalted him from comic scoundrel to champion of the common men. Recently I learnt that the process may be traced back to the venerable Giambattista Vico, whose *New Science* (1744) pictured Thersites as "a character of the plebeians who served the heroes in the Trojan war. He was beaten by Ulysses," Vico says, "with the scepter of Agamemnon, just as the ancient Roman plebeians were beaten by the nobles. . . ." (*The New Science*, trans. by Thomas Bergin and Max Fisch, 1948, p. 123.) This analogy of the *Iliad* quarrel with the class conflict of Rome is all wrong, but less delusive than the analogy made by our Tory interpreters of Homer between his barbarians and chivalric suzerains and vassals.

<sup>32</sup> *Odyssey* XVII, 507.

<sup>33</sup> Lang, *Homer and His Age*, 81. Lang takes no stock in the post-Homeric story of the *Cypria* which portrays Agamemnon as an elected general. (See his *World of Homer*, 1910, p. 24.)

<sup>34</sup> Durant, *The Life of Greece*, 1939, p. 78.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. *Odyssey* I, 395-396. The best that Telemachus can say for being a *basileus* is this: "It is no bad thing to be a king; his house grows rich and he himself is held in greater esteem" (*ibid.* I, 392-393).

<sup>36</sup> Morgan, *The League of the Ho-De-No-Sau-Nee or Iroquois* (1891), ed. by Herbert Lloyd (1922), p. 69; Morgan, *Ancient Society* (1877), p. 150.

<sup>37</sup> *Odyssey* I, 400-401.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Seymour, *op. cit.* 67; Leaf, *op. cit.* 110.

<sup>39</sup> William Ridgeway is emphatic: "the idea of property in land is foreign certainly to the *Iliad*" (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, VI, 319). Andrew Lang is shy but revealing: "Early land tenure is a subject so complex and obscure that it is not easy to prove advance towards separate property in the *Odyssey*" (*op. cit.* 236).

<sup>40</sup> *Psalms*, XXIV, 1. The Biblical affirmation, says William Ramsay, is the clearest statement of a principle of all ancient religion of Western Asia, including the homeland of Homer: "that the land can be property in absolute ownership of no human being." (Ramsay, *Asiatic Elements in Greek Civilisation*, 1927, p. 41.)

<sup>41</sup> Morgan, *League of the Ho-De-No-Sau-Nee or Iroquois*, 317. Morgan records a vision of divine punishment of an alienator of land, a vision that sharply recalls the *Odyssey* account of the punishment of Sisyphus. Handsome Lake, the sage of the Senecas, dreamt that he saw the chief Farmer's Brother "engaged in removing a heap of sand, grain by grain; and although he labored continually, yet the heap of sand was not diminished. This, they said, was the punishment of those who sold land." (*Ibid.* 243-244.)

<sup>42</sup> *Odyssey* VIII, 390.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.* I, 395.

<sup>44</sup> J. P. Mahaffy, *Social Life in Greece* (1913), p. 18. Mahaffy was distressed by the scarcity of "courtliness," "honour" and "loyalty" in what he called "the days of Greek chivalry" (*ibid.* 42).

<sup>45</sup> Mahaffy became indignant, Leaf was puzzled by the suggestion in the *Odyssey* (XIII, 256) "that service under the king was regarded as a matter of favour on the part of the subject (*sic*), rather than as a duty due by him." (Leaf, *op. cit.*, 263.)

<sup>46</sup> *Iliad* II, 53; VII, 336 ff.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.* VIII, 324; X, 93; XI, 203; II, 435.

<sup>48</sup> *Nicomachean Ethics*, III, 1113 a.

<sup>49</sup> *Iliad* X, 314 et seq.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.* XII, 213.

<sup>51</sup> *Odyssey* XIV, 220-234.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.* 238-239.

<sup>53</sup> *Politics* I, 1252 b.

<sup>54</sup> *Iliad* II, 13-14.

<sup>55</sup> See *The Eumenides*, 973; and the last paragraph of Thomas Hardy's *Tess of the d'Urbervilles*.

<sup>56</sup> For instances, see *Iliad* XI, 687-688; XVIII, 503-508; XXII, 119-120.

<sup>57</sup> *Iliad* III, 149.

<sup>58</sup> Compare the Spartan mode of voting reported by Thucydides (I, 87).

<sup>59</sup> *Iliad* VII, 403.

<sup>60</sup> *Job*, XXXVIII, 7.

<sup>61</sup> *Iliad* VII, 405-406.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.* II, 788-789.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.* IX, 49-50.

<sup>64</sup> Morgan, *Ancient Society*, 143 n.

<sup>65</sup> *Iliad* XIX, 43-46.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.* 234-237.

<sup>67</sup> *Iliad* XVIII, 249 et seq. (particularly 310-313: "the Trojans shouted loud, the fools!").

<sup>68</sup> Aeschylus, *The Suppliants* (605-607):

With one assent the Argives spoke their will,  
And, hearing, my old heart ran youthful joy.  
The very sky was thrilled when high in air  
The assembly raised right hands and swore their oath.

# NOTES

Contributions to this department in the form of brief objective notes should be sent direct to the editor, Oscar E. Nybakken, State University of Iowa, 124 Schaeffer Hall, Iowa City, Iowa.

## A NEW SENSATION?

The modern French short story, "A New Sensation," by Pierre Louys, tells how Aphrodite returns to earth and finds nothing new that will induce her to remain—until she tries a cigarette.

It is true, of course, that tobacco was unknown to the ancients. However, if Aphrodite had kept her ears open she might have learned of substitutes for tobacco smoke among barbarians known to the Greeks.

Herodotus, in a passage concerning the Massagetae, a Scythian people, presents the following information:

Among them is found a tree which bears a certain fruit. They assemble and kindle a fire. Sitting in a circle around the fire they throw this fruit onto it; and as they smell the burning fruit they become drunk on the odor, as the Greeks do on wine. The more they throw onto the fire, the drunker they get, until they rise to dance and sing. This is said to be their way of life . . . .<sup>1</sup>

Later Herodotus says:

The Scythians take hemp-seeds, crawl under rugs, and throw the seeds onto red-hot stones. This smokes and creates such a vapor as no Greek steambath could surpass. The Scythians get pleasure from this and shout aloud. This takes the place of bathing among them; for they never under any circumstances wash their bodies with water . . . .<sup>2</sup>

Curiously enough, this latter passage has sometimes been taken to refer to a simple steam-bath, and the shouting of the Scythians has been regarded as mere high spirits induced by the pleasant sensation of the steam. If that were so, there would have been no need for the hemp. It should be noted that Indian hemp is the principal ingredients of hashish.

Ps.-Plutarch in *De Fluviiis* tells us:

Along the river Hebrus there grows a plant like marjoram; the Thracians cut off the tops and place them on the fire with grain; receiving the smoke into their nostrils they are transported into a deep stupor . . . .<sup>3</sup>

These passages all have to do with narcotics inhaled in the form of smoke for the intoxicating effect. Pliny, however, refers several times to the smoke or vapor of various substances which may be inhaled for medicinal purposes:

Concerning *cyprian*, I follow the authority of Apollodorus, who says it should not be drunk, although he admits it is very effective against gallstones; he thinks it can cause abortion in women; and, strangest of all he reports that barbarians reduce the spleen by inhaling the smoke of this herb, and that they never leave their homes without this fumigation. In this way they become more active and stronger every day . . . .<sup>4</sup>

*Sabina*, called *brathy* by the Greeks, comes in two varieties, one like the leaves of tamarisk, the other like those of cypress. Many people take it in the form of smoke, instead of incense . . . . When inhaled it expels the body of an infant that has died unborn . . . .<sup>5</sup>

*Chamaeleuce* is called by us *farfarus* or *farfugium*. It grows alongside rivers, with leaves like those of the poplar only larger. Its root is placed on cypress coal and the vapor drunk through a funnel as a cure for chronic coughs . . . .<sup>6</sup>

Some say that *arcion* and *chamaeleuce* are the same thing with different names. This is dried together with its root and the smoke drunk through a reed as a cure for a chronic cough. With each draught some raisin wine must be taken . . . .<sup>7</sup>

The smoke of dried dung from cattle that have pastured on green fodder is said to help consumptives if it is drunk through a reed . . . .<sup>8</sup>

When tobacco was first introduced from America into Europe it was regarded, like Pliny's various smoke-producing herbs, as a potent medicine for many ailments. Johannes Neander of Breman wrote, in 1626, a treatise entitled *Tabacologia, hoc est Tabaci seu Nicotianae Descriptio Medico-Chirurgico-Pharmaceutica, vel ejus Praeparatio et Usus in omnibus ferme Corporis Humani Incommodis*.<sup>9</sup>

In the last three passages quoted above, the words for "funnel" (*infundibulum*) and



"reed" (*harundo*) should perhaps best be translated "pipe." The Latin words are certainly no vaguer than the English word for the same object. In the same three passages, Pliny refers to "drinking" smoke (*bibere*, *hawire*). In Arabic and Japanese today one speaks of "drinking" tobacco. This was also a common expression in English in the past: Ben Jonson speaks of "the most divine tobacco that I ever drunk."<sup>10</sup>

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#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Herod., *Hist.*, I. 202.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, IV. 75.

<sup>3</sup> Plut., *Moralia*, ed. Bernardakis, vol. VII, p. 287.

<sup>4</sup> Plin., *NH*, XXI. 116.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, XXIV. 102.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, XXIV. 135.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, XXVI. 30.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, XXVIII. 230.

<sup>9</sup> See J. H. Hanford, "Wine, Beer, Ale, and Tobacco," *Studies in Philology*, XII, 1915, p. 53, note 625.

<sup>10</sup> *Every Man in His Humor* (1598), III, ii; many other examples in *NED*, s.v. "drink," I. 5. See also Hanford, *op. cit.*, p. 51, note 519.

### HOMER AND DEMOCRACY

(Continued from p. 343)

In conclusion: "Government by the people is the normal condition of mankind, as a broad review of human history abundantly maintains. Monarchies are temporary phases of government in the evolution of mankind from barbarism to civilization, and these monarchies with their attendant hierarchies, feudalisms, and slavery, appear only as pathologic conditions of the body politic—diseases which must be destroyed or they will destroy—and hence disappearing by virtue of the survival of the fittest."—John Wesley Powell, in the *Popular Science Monthly*, November 1880, p. 121.

## SCHOLARSHIPS FOR FRESHMEN AT RADCLIFFE COLLEGE

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THE DIRECTOR OF ADMISSIONS, Radcliffe College, Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

# BOOK REVIEWS

*Portorium: Étude sur l'organisation douanière chez les Romains, surtout à l'époque du Haut-Empire.* By Siegfried J. De Laet. (Rijksuniversiteit te Gent. Werken uitgeven door de Facultet van de Wijsbegeerte en Letteren. 105<sup>e</sup> Aflevering.) Brugge: "De Tempel," 1949. Pp. 510.

CAGNAT'S TREATISE on Roman indirect taxes, published in 1882, was in its day a useful and valuable work, but new discoveries and new interpretations have made another study an urgent desideratum. Professor De Laet has given us a comprehensive, thorough, and critical discussion of one of the most important indirect taxes, the *portorium*, with full citations both of ancient evidence and modern discussions. Quite apart from original contributions by the author, this collection of material, including interpretations and theories presented in works often relatively inaccessible, is itself a great service to students of Roman imperial institutions, and his lists of administrative officers to students of Roman prosopography.

The work is divided into three sections. The first deals with *portoria* in the regal period and during the Republic, and is necessarily rather brief, as the state of our evidence compels. As the sub-title shows, the second, which deals with the period of the Principate, is the author's main interest, and the one on which the value of the book depends. The Late Empire occupies a third and concluding section of 28 pages.

In the second section the author has made a two-fold contribution, both to our knowledge of the organization of the *portoria* under the Principate, and to our picture of their administration. In a lengthy survey of the various customs districts he is able to identify more than twice as many stations as Cagnat knew, and hence can proceed to a sounder explanation of the lines of Roman policy. The following conclusions appear to be well founded. First, the organization of the customs bureaux tended to follow natural lines of communication rather than provincial boundaries. Second, the function of frontier stations, with their stronger military escorts and generally higher levies, differed from that of the toll and inspection stations in the interior of a district. Third, the *Quattuor Publica Africae* were four indirect taxes organized under a common admin-

istration in the western African provinces. And fourth, Ptolemaic traditions gave a special character to the high taxes and tolls levied in Egypt and Syria. The author also makes the interesting suggestion that the separate existence of the *Ripa Thraciae* as a frontier customs area before it was incorporated into the *Publicum Portorium Illyrici* provides the analogy that explains the relation of the *Portus Livensis* on the Rhine to the *Quadragesima Galliarum*.

As his second contribution the author has given us a clearer picture than has been available hitherto of the stages in the development of the Roman customs administration under the Principate. He gives Tiberius the credit for a reorganization of the system of farming to companies of publicans under increased government supervision; perhaps reasonably so, though his view that Tiberius established the *fiscus* (p. 364, note 2) seems excessive. Under Trajan came the general adoption of a system more analogous to that which had prevailed all along in Egypt and Syria, that of farming the tax to individuals or small groups of *conductores* in limited areas under supervision by imperial officials; and finally, under Marcus Aurelius, replacement in most of the Empire of the system of *conductores* by imperial procurators. The first of these were sometimes the former *conductores*. Egypt and Syria remained apart, just as they had differed before in the high rates of their levies.

Other sections deal with immunities (the inscription from Rhosos yields illuminating data on the scope of personal exemptions), with municipal and other local customs dues, on disputes which arose and the means of settlement; and finally there is an interesting discussion of the impact of the *portoria* on the economic life of the Empire. It is clear that internal customs dues and tolls were intended only to raise revenues, but frontier dues, though mainly directed to the same end, were sometimes used also to discourage trade in luxuries and to conserve the supply of precious metals. Customs dues between districts within the Empire were never high enough to prevent the flow of commerce, but the suggestion that they were a factor in the movement of industry toward the provinces during the first two centuries of the Empire merits serious consideration.

The work is not free from slips and errors. For example, the *Lex Caecilia* of 60 B.C., which abolished *portoria* in Italy, was not "voted by the Senate" (p. 100, note 3), but carried by Metellus Nepos as Praetor in the regular way. Again, the exemption of the publicans from customs dues in the *Lex Antonia de Termessibus* does not appear to involve "a rival company" (p. 85) but only the municipal customs dues of Termessus itself. A more precise system of cross-references would aid readers considerably. Such things as these are minor blemishes in an important and useful study which has placed all Roman historians in debt to the author.

T. ROBERT S. BROUGHTON

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*The Development of Attic Black-Figure.* By Sir John Davidson Beazley. (Sather Classical Lectures, 24.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1951; London: Cambridge University Press. Pp. xiv, 127. Pls. 49, \$6.50.

BEAZLEY IS THE world's foremost authority on Greek Vases. It is a pleasure to have in print, even though the price is rather high for a book of exactly 100 pages of text, the lectures which Sir John delivered at the University of California, dedicated to his former student, H. R. W. Smith. The book supplements and does not repeat much of the material in *Attic Black Figure, a Sketch*, (except pl. 13.1-2 = ABF pl. 4; pl. 21.1-2 = ABF pl. 1.1-2; pl. 24 in upper right [not numbered as figures are on pl. 25] = ABF pl. 1.3; pls. 28 and 29 = ABF pl. 6; pl. 32 = ABF pl. 7; pl. 33 = ABF pl. 8; pl. 38.1-2 = ABF pl. 12.2; pl. 39.2 = ABF pl. 14.2; pl. 44 = ABF pl. 16.1). The book anticipates *Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters* which is well advanced and will give complete lists of works by the several painters. "Greek Vases," says Beazley, "are important to us, not only because they are often beautiful, and because they shed all manner of light on the beliefs and customs of the Greeks—but also because, in an incomparable series, they enable us to trace the steps whereby a simple and even primitive kind of drawing gradually became freer, bolder and more subtle—the rise, one might say, of Western drawing." Black-figure technique more than any other single source reveals the origins of all Western graphic art. One can draw differently but no better. The technique engraves details with a sharp point and adds dark red and white paint over the black glaze, giving a four-color scheme. It was first developed at Corinth but

nothing is said of the wooden Corinthian tablets with early painted mythological scenes found in a cave near Corinth a few years ago.

The opening chapter gives the story of early Attic vase-painting down to the appearance of the full black-figure style. Little use is made of Rodney Young's many excellent articles in *Hesp.* Compare the Geometric Oinochoe, with an early Attic inscription pp. 8, 105, n. 26 [ca. 725 B.C. not 700 B.C. as Rodney Young says in *Hesp. Supp.* 2 (1939) 228] and compare also *Klio* 17.262 f. and 267 and Klaffenbach's new edition of Kirchner, *Imagines Inscriptionum Atticarum*.

Sir John discusses the progress and decline of sophisticated art till it reaches a monumental grandeur in the François Vase in Florence by Kleitias, with all its variety, control, movement and high decorative art, ornamented with a wealth of myths. I saw it some years ago just after it had been smashed by a discharged guard. Two pieces were stolen and I think one was returned and the other is still missing. But the restoration was excellent and revealed many new points. I miss a reference to the text and plates of Milani, *Il Museo Archeologico di Firenze*. But Beazley's reproductions are beyond reproach. The book is full of new material and new photographs, as well as references to Greek Literature and Life. For example, the Statius' story of Achilles' (*Achilleis*, 2.96-100) diet of the "inwards of lions and the marrow of the half-living she-wolf," is not a late invention but is on a Proto-Attic vase of the seventh century B.C. The story was probably related in a lost portion of the *Cypria*.

Beazley gives many firsts: p. 14, the earliest Attic representation of the chase of the Gorgons over the sea; pp. 15-16, the earliest representation of the story of Perseus, by the Nessos Painter. "Scenes of monsters and animals enhanced in the beholder the feeling of strength and confidence to a degree not easily apprehended by an age so glutted with visual aids." The earliest figure of Athena in extant Attic Art is discussed on p. 15. P. 17, the first Attic vase painter Sophilos; p. 21, the earliest representation of the Judgement of Paris by the KX Painter [but cf. the eighth century ivory comb from Sparta (Dawkins: *Artemis Orthia*, 223; Payne: *Necrocorinthia*, 134 "probably the earliest example"; Reinhardt: *Das Parisurteil*, Frankfurt, 1936)]; p. 23, the earliest picture of the Birth of Athena; p. 26, the earliest Attic volute-krater; p. 108, the earliest extant griffin on a Late Geometric gold diadem in Berlin.

America should feel flattered that so many vases in America are discussed. I am especially thankful to Beazley for naming (p. 118, n. 53) "the Robinson group of Panathenaic vases" (also p. 96). He might have given me credit for finding the earliest complete one signed with an archon's name Asteios, now in Oxford [AJA 14 (1910) 422-425; 15 (1911) 504-506]. I miss references in Chapter VIII devoted to Panathenaic Amphorae to Brauchitsch, *Die Panathenäischen Preisamphoren* and especially to those found at Olynthus (*Olynthus* 5, nos. 97-100; 13, nos. 8-14, literature cited pp. 62-63). One mentioned bears the name of Ariarathes 163-130 B.C. the agonothete, not agonosthetes, as in Beazley, p. 118, n. 85. Vases in the Robinson collection at Oxford, Mississippi, include p. 47, a plate by Lydos with flying figures, which I interpret as the Two Strifes of Hesiod, Beazley as Zetes and Kalais (n. 52, CV, 1, pl. 32a should be 32, 2). "Another sprint by the Achilles Painter is a fragmentary Panathenaic in the Robinson Collection at Oxford, Mississippi" (95). The Antimenes Painter is also represented in Oxford and Beazley dealt with him in ABF, but he does not know the two hydriai by him in Lyons (to be published by Dugas in *Studies presented to David Moore Robinson*, 2), and a hydria in the Herron Art Institute, published by Mrs. Stevens in the *Bulletin of the Art Association of Indianapolis* 34 (Oct. 1947) Cover and p. 20. Nor could he know François Villard's "Le Peintre des Centaures," which will appear in *Studies* 2, pp. 65-69. These he will include, I hope, in his forthcoming book. The scene in a boat on the interior of the famous kylix of Exekias in Munich is interpreted (p. 68), as representing Dionysos but no reference to the story of Dionysos and the Pirates in the Homeric hymn to Dionysos (the scene well illustrated in CJ 44, 1949, 452 is used by Coca-Cola but called Hercules; by Gorham Stevens as a book-plate, by Alfred Noyes, *Bacchus and the Pirates*, etc. There is no treatment of the Affecter, a great painter in the style of Amasis, little of Nikosthenes (72-73) whose signature on over a hundred black-figured and on eight red figured vases is preserved. But then Beazley does not like him "the love of garbage is something from which very few of us are absolutely immune." Even my fellow townsman, Nobel prize winner, Faulkner, is consigned by a Mississippi critic to "the garbage can of literature." Vases from many hitherto unknown collections are mentioned

(that of Marchesa Isabella Guglielmi of Rome, which I also know through H. R. W. Smith, who probably told Beazley about it, that of Dr. Wilfred Hall at Tynemouth and even collections as far away as Cyprus and Australia. Kabeiric vases with caricatures kept the black-figured style as well as Panathenaics but are not included.

This book is in excellent English, indispensable to all students of Greek art, literature, life and history.

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### BRITAIN (from page 316)

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(Prepared by William D. Fairchild, Jr., Tufts College)

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